

The Hermeneutics of Mark and John: On the Theology of the Canonical "Gospel"

Recently the debate has intensified over the question of what literary paradigm underlies the New Testament *Gattung* "gospel". The concern here is more than academic, for it is believed to be vital to the interpretation of the gospels, especially the Gospel of Mark. Numerous proposals have been made as to what this literary paradigm may have been. The following brief survey is in large measure dependent upon Howard Clark Kee's recent study on Mark⁽¹⁾. (1) *Greco-Roman Aretalogy*. Usually advanced in connection with "divine man" christology it has been argued that Mark's gospel exemplifies a literary form called "aretalogy" (from ἀρετή, "virtue" or "power"), a genre which recounted the wondrous deeds of a god or divinized man⁽²⁾. However, this genre, if it ever existed such a genre, scarcely parallels Mark's biographical narrative and so hardly provides a suitable literary paradigm. (2) *Greek Tragedy*. Several scholars have argued that Mark has consciously adapted his gospel to the style of Greek tragedy as is evidenced by the fact that Jesus is portrayed as the tragic hero who, despite his marvelous virtues, meets with rejection and death⁽³⁾. (3) "*Origin Myth*". Kee

(1) H. C. KEE, *Community of the New Age: Studies in Mark's Gospel* (Philadelphia 1977) 17-30.

(2) M. HADAS and M. SMITH, *Heroes and Gods: Spiritual Biographies in Antiquity* (New York 1965); H. KOESTER, "One Jesus and Four Primitive Gospels", *Trajectories through Early Christianity* (with J. M. ROBINSON; Philadelphia 1971) 187-193. See KEE's analysis and criticism of this proposal in "Aretalogy and Gospel", *JBL* 92 (1973) 402-422 and in *Community of the New Age*, 17-18.

(3) Among the first to propose this view were Ernest W. Burch, "Tragic Action in the Second Gospel: A Study of the Narrative of Mark", *JR* 11 (1931) 346-358 and D. W. RIDDLE, "The Martyr Motif in the Gospel of Mark", *JR* 4 (1924) 397-410; idem, *The Gospels: Their Origin and Growth* (Chicago 1939); more recently C. BEACH, *The Gospel of Mark: Its Making*

has noted that Vernon Robbins concluded that Mark is an instance of "origin myth", that is, an effort to explain something new and contrary to expectation⁽⁴⁾. However, Robbins is not able to point to any specific literary structure. (4) *Hellenistic Romance*. Kee reports that Martin Braun had attempted to show that Mark is a form of the Hellenistic romance⁽⁵⁾. Kee finds the proposal highly doubtful, however: "The intention of Mark seems to be far more serious than the romance's typical delight in the bizarre and the fantastic⁽⁶⁾". (5) *Comedy*. Recently Dan O. Via has attempted to show that Mark represents an instance of comedy because in Mark tragedy (namely, the crucifixion) is reversed (in the resurrection): "The gospel form might be called the tragedy of an innocent sufferer which is followed by a post-tragic redemptive episode or, similarly, a tragedy which includes victory⁽⁷⁾". This idea he has dubbed "tragicomedy." Kee criticizes Via's proposal as being overly simplistic and contextually inadequate⁽⁸⁾. (6) *Greco-Roman Biography*. Not considered by Kee is the proposal that Mark corresponds to the *Gattung* of the Greco-Roman biography. Years ago C. W. Votaw concluded that the Greco-Roman biography had provided the evangelist his literary model⁽⁹⁾. Recently Charles H. Talbert has argued vigorously for this

and Meaning (New York 1959) and G. BILEZIKIAN, *The Liberated Gospel: A Comparison of the Gospel of Mark and Greek Tragedy* (Grand Rapids 1977). T. J. WEEDEN, in *Mark—Traditions in Conflict* (Philadelphia 1971) 17, believes that Mark is an instance of Greco-Roman drama with emphasis on character study.

(4) V. ROBBINS, *The Christological Structure of Mark* (unpublished University of Chicago Dissertation, 1973), cited by KEE, *Community of the New Age*, 183, nn. 34, 36, 37. Kee explains that Robbins believes that "Mark is generically akin to the 'origin myths' described by Mircea Eliade" (p. 18). See also ROBBINS, "Mark as Genre", *SBL Seminar Papers* 19 (1980) 371-399.

(5) M. BRAUN, *History and Romance in Graeco-Roman Literature* (Oxford 1938), cited by KEE, *Community of the New Age*, 183, n. 38.

(6) KEE, *Community of the New Age*, 19.

(7) D. O. VIA, *The Parables: Their Literary and Existential Dimension* (Philadelphia 1967) 180; see idem, *Kerygma and Comedy in the New Testament* (Philadelphia 1975).

(8) KEE, *Community of the New Age*, 20-21.

(9) C. W. VOTAW, "The Gospels and Contemporary Biographies", *AJT* 19 (1915) 45-73, 217-249.

view⁽¹⁰⁾. The problem that besets all of these proposals is that Mark simply does not parallel any one particular paradigm completely enough. Indeed, some of the paradigms seem to be composites modeled after Mark by the modern interpreter. Either some elements are not to be found in Mark or the proposed paradigm fails to account for important elements. The lack of scholarly consensus, as revealed by the diversity of proposed paradigms, is indicative of the problem.

The other commonly held view, at least until the recent publications of Kee, Talbert, and Bilezikian, is that the Gospel of Mark represents a literary *novum*⁽¹¹⁾. This conclusion has been maintained for two basic reasons. First, stated negatively, no consensus has been reached as to what *Gattung* Mark is supposed to have been modeled after. Second, stated positively, the Gospel of Mark is in essence a re-presentation of the Jesus tradition in terms of the Christian kerygma, the uniqueness of which has received much emphasis since the rise of dialectical theology. If the Christian kerygma is unique then its appearance within a novel literary *Gattung* is not surprising.

Nevertheless, it is becoming increasingly evident that the gospels, as well as the rest of the New Testament, must be studied against the background of early Christianity's struggle with Judaism, no matter how novel the kerygma and the early Christian experience may be argued to have been. The extent to which the New Testa-

(10) C. H. TALBERT, *What is a Gospel? The Genre of the Canonical Gospels* (Philadelphia 1977). Talbert argues that the form critics had misunderstood the biography genre and so failed to regard Mark as such. His thesis consists of three basic points: (1) Greco-Roman biographies are, in fact, often mythical; (2) some Greco-Roman biographies perform cultic functions; and (3) the Gospel of Mark possesses the characteristic features of these biographies and so must be regarded as an instance of this genre. Talbert has argued his case well, but even if it is conceded that Mark is indeed biography, the evangelist's theological purposes are scarcely accounted for (at least beyond "cultic function"). See also L. CANTWELL, "The Gospels as Biographies", *SJT* 34 (1981) 193-200.

(11) R. BULTMANN, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition* (Oxford 1963) 368-374; M. DIBELIUS, *From Tradition to Gospel* (New York 1935) 39-40; A. N. WILDER, *The Language of the Gospel: Early Christian Rhetoric* (New York 1964) 36, cited by KEE, *Community of the New Age*, 30, with approval; N. PERRIN, "The Literary *Gattung* 'Gospel'—Some Observations", *ExpTim* 82 (1970) 4-7.

ment writers were indebted to Jewish traditions must not be underrated. Even though he concludes that Mark's literary *Gattung* is novel, Kee has pointed out that the gospel's literary antecedents are to be traced to "the eschatological literature of post-exilic Judaism" in which it was expected that God would perform mighty acts through his chosen agents⁽¹²⁾. Other studies have suggested that the *Gattung* gospel has its roots in the Old Testament itself⁽¹³⁾.

Over the last 15 years or so James M. Robinson has developed a different approach to the question. He has focused his attention upon what he considers to be the fundamental point at issue in the New Testament *Gattung* gospel: Jesus' relationship to Easter⁽¹⁴⁾. His goal is to discover and describe the theological forces at work on the Jesus traditions of the primitive church which led ultimately to the composition of the New Testament's form of gospel⁽¹⁵⁾. With the recent publication of the Coptic gnostic codices found at Nag Hammadi the diversity of "gospel" *Gattungen* has been revealed dramatically⁽¹⁶⁾. Tractates within the gnostic library which bear the title "gospel" more closely resemble the Apocalypse of the New Testament than they do the four canonical gospels. In fact, there appears to be little difference in form. Whether the gnostic tractate is entitled "apocalypse", "apocryphon", or "gospel" it is usually nothing more than an esoteric revelatory discourse⁽¹⁷⁾. Indeed, it matters not if it is Jesus or some other celestial personage that is the

⁽¹²⁾ KEE, *Community of the New Age*, 23-30.

⁽¹³⁾ M. G. KLINE, "Old Testament Origins of the Gospel Genre", *WTJ* 38 (1975) 1-27.

⁽¹⁴⁾ "The Johannine Trajectory", *Trajectories through Early Christianity*, 232-268; "On the *Gattung* of Mark (and John)", *Jesus and Man's Hope* (vol. 1, ed. D. G. BUTTRICK and J. M. BALD; Pittsburgh 1970) 99-129; "The Literary Composition of Mark", *L'Évangile selon Marc: Tradition et Rédaction* (ed. M. SABBE; Gembloux 1974) 11-19; "Gnosticism and the New Testament", *Gnosis* (Hans Jonas Festschrift; ed. B. Aland; Göttingen 1978) 125-143.

⁽¹⁵⁾ On the *Gattung* of Mark (and John)", 113; "The Literary Composition of Mark", 19; "Gnosticism and the New Testament", 142.

⁽¹⁶⁾ See ROBINSON, ed., *The Nag Hammadi Library* (San Francisco/Leiden 1977). The word *Gattung* is to be understood as referring to a document in its entirety (a meaning often times given to genre).

⁽¹⁷⁾ KOESTER, "One Jesus and Four Primitive Gospels", 194.

central character and revealer of gnosis—the *Gattung* of these gnostic “gospels” is essentially the same⁽¹⁸⁾.

The major difference between these gospels and those of the New Testament is not the apocalyptic character of the former (for the latter also contain apocalyptic material, cf. Mark 13), but their respective theological understandings of an important temporal element—namely, the significance and meaning of Jesus (especially as he relates to the kerygma) *before* Easter. This difference is what is so noticeable. Whereas in the canonical gospels Jesus’ life before Easter makes up the major part of the narrative, in the gnostic gospels the setting is invariably *after* Easter (even the synoptic-like *Gospel of Thomas*, by virtue of its gnosticized prologue, is to be understood in a post-Easter setting). In the former the gospel narrative concludes with Easter, while in the latter the gospel begins with (or at least presupposes) Easter. That the gnostic gospels regard Jesus’ pre-Easter life and ministry as either irrelevant and/or unintelligible only heightens the theological differences between the two *Gattungen*.

Out of interest in this question the balance of the present study will be given over to a re-examination of the question of the New Testament *Gattung* “gospel”, looking not so much to literary antecedents, but to the historical and theological forces at work on the early church’s understanding of its Easter kerygma and its relationship to the life and teaching of Jesus (i.e., before Easter). The literary antecedents may only be incidental to the emergence of the New Testament gospel.

The Emergence of the New Testament “Gospel”

In a series of studies James M. Robinson has tried to explicate the emergence of the New Testament *Gattung* “gospel” in terms of a gospels trajectory shared with emerging gnostic theology⁽¹⁹⁾. He believes that the efforts of the canonical evangelists to portray the pre-Easter Jesus as kerygmatic⁽²⁰⁾ were intended to check this gnos-

⁽¹⁸⁾ In another study (“Jesus in Gnostic Literature”, *Bib* 62 [1981] 406-412) I have tried to produce a paradigm of the Christian gnostic *Gattung* gospel which is then compared to the non-Christian gnostic *Gattung*.

⁽¹⁹⁾ See n. 14 above.

⁽²⁰⁾ “Kerygmatic” denotes those elements that make up the Easter pro-

ticizing proclivity to relegate to insignificance the life and teaching of the earthly, pre-Easter Jesus⁽²¹⁾. What Robinson has offered in this regard will be taken into consideration more fully in the balance of the study.

Robinson's approach is based upon the conclusion that the gospel of John (the last canonical gospel to be written) is literarily independent of the gospel of Mark (considered by many to be the first canonical gospel written)⁽²²⁾. If such a conclusion is correct, and I believe that it is, then the scholar has access to two independent documents that share several significant hermeneutical similarities. Such similarities are significant because they may point us to the hermeneutical forces at work in wider circles of the primitive church rather than only to the theology of the respective evangelists. A comparison of the hermeneutics of the gospels of Mark and John may afford us with valuable insight into the early church's rationale for its production and preference for the gospel *Gattung* as we have it in the New Testament. We are interested in the hermeneutics of

clamation, e.g., Jesus' messiahship, divine sonship, atoning death, and resurrection. Because of the subject of this study we shall primarily be concerned with those passages which contain these elements.

(²¹) ROBINSON, "On the *Gattung* of Mark (and John)", 113.

(²²) Currently there appears to be three basic positions with respect to the question of John's literary relationship to Mark: (1) John knew and used Mark (advocated by J. R. DONAHUE, *Are You the Christ? The Trial Narrative in the Gospel of Mark* [SBLDS 10; Missoula 1973] 58-63 and N. PERRIN, *The New Testament: An Introduction* [New York 1974] 229); M.-É BOISMARD et A. LAMOUILLE, *L'Évangile de Jean. Synopse des quatre Évangiles en français*, t. III, Paris 1977). B. DE SOLAGES, *Jean et les Synoptiques* (Leiden 1979) has concluded that, although John had knowledge of the synoptics, he did not utilize them as sources. See also F. NEIRYNCK, with the collaboration of J. DELOBEL, T. SNOY, G. VAN BELLE, F. VAN SEGBROECK, *Jean et les Synoptiques: Examen critique de l'exégèse de M.-É Boismard* (BETL 39; Leuven 1979); (2) John and Mark utilized a common source (advocated by A. B. KOLENKOW, "Healing Controversy as a Tie between Miracle and Passion Material for a Proto-Gospel," *JBL* 95 [1976] 623-638 and R. T. FORTNA, "Jesus and Peter at the High Priest's House: A Test Case for the Question of the Relation between Mark's and John's Gospels", *NTS* 24 [1978] 371-383); (3) John and Mark are literarily independent (assumed by Robinson in articles mentioned above in n. 14 and recently defended in 1977 SBL paper, "Trajectory Theories"). I have recently defended this position in "Peter Warming Himself: The Problem of an Editorial Seam", *JBL* 101 (1982) 245-249.

Mark and John (as opposed to the much broader category of theology). By "hermeneutics" I mean how the evangelists understood Jesus and his relationship to the kerygma. These hermeneutical similarities are examined under the following five heads.

1. *Terminus a quo of Gattung Gospel*

Both evangelists begin their narratives with the appearance of John the Baptist⁽²³⁾. Robinson has noted that such a tradition evidently exerted a strong and lasting force on primitive Christian theology⁽²⁴⁾. There are kerygmatic elements in the respective Baptist traditions which call for study. The Gospel of Mark begins with the incipit, ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τοῦ Ἰησοῦ (1,1), which may very well have been meant to be understood as a declaration of the point at which the kerygma rightfully begins and not simply at what point the story is to begin⁽²⁵⁾. After Jesus is baptized, the Spirit descends upon Jesus and the heavenly voice declares: "Thou art my beloved Son; with thee I am well pleased" (1,11)⁽²⁶⁾. It is important to note that the voice on the Mount of Transfiguration is quite similar (though the speech is in the third person, cf. 9,7). Paul G. Bretscher has argued that the identical forms of the saying found in Matthew (3,17; 17,5) are closer to the original tradition which had been derived from Ex 4,22-24 with the wording of Ps 2,7 having a later influence (i.e. the change of πρωτότοκος ["firstborn"] to ἀγαπητός

⁽²³⁾ J. A. T. ROBINSON ("The Relation of the Prologue to the Gospel of St John", *NTS* 9 [1963] 120-129) has observed that when the prologue is removed John's baptist narrative is quite similar in wording to the synoptic account.

⁽²⁴⁾ J. M. ROBINSON, "On the *Gattung* of Mark (and John)", 118.

⁽²⁵⁾ BULTMANN (*The History of the Synoptic Tradition* [Oxford 1972] 348-349) understood Mark as the "union of the Hellenistic kerygma about Christ... with the tradition of the story of Jesus". Hence, Mark announces the "beginning" of the kerygma, not at the resurrection, but at the inception of Jesus' earthly ministry. L. E. KECK ("The Introduction to Mark's Gospel", *NTS* 12 [1966] 352-370) has argued that Mark understands the "beginning of the gospel" as the time when Jesus began to preach the gospel.

⁽²⁶⁾ S. GERO ("The Spirit as Dove at the Baptism of Jesus", *NovT* 18 [1976] 17-35) believes that the evangelist Mark has combined a tradition of the Holy Spirit descending upon Jesus with a tradition that a dove came upon the Messiah. The first tradition is preserved in the *Gospel of the Hebrews*, the second tradition in the 24th *Ode of Solomon*.

[“beloved”])(²⁷). Bretscher believes that Jerome’s Latin translation of the Hebrew *Gospel of the Nazarenes* preserves this early baptism tradition (*tu es filius meus primogenitus*) which, he believes, is the translation of the Hebrew text of Ex 4,22(²⁸). If Bretscher is correct then strong evidence has been provided for supposing that the voice from heaven of the baptism and the transfiguration are derived from the same tradition. This fact takes on added significance when it is noted that it has been suggested that Mark’s transfiguration account was originally a primitive resurrection appearance to Peter(²⁹). If this conclusion is correct, then the kerygmatic flavor of Jesus’ baptism is only heightened. That is to say, the same heavenly voice that recognized Jesus’ special status after the resurrection (i.e. as the “anointed one” or Messiah, cf. Acts 2,36) was also heard, Mark tells his readers, at the inauguration of Jesus’ public ministry(³⁰).

Like Mark, the fourth evangelist provides an account of Jesus’ baptism and the descent of the Spirit (1,32-34), but he goes beyond Mark when he has the Baptist proclaim the unmistakably kerygmatic confession: “Behold, the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world!” (1,29.36)(³¹). The intercalation of the Baptist tradition

(²⁷) P. G. BRETSCHER, “Exodus 4:22-23 and the Voice from Heaven”, *JBL* 87 (1968) 301-311. He believes that Mark has changed the tradition by putting it into the second person. Other scholars have observed the presence of Exodus traditions in both Mark and John: C. T. RUDDICK, Jr., “Behold, I send My Messenger”, *JBL* 88 (1969) 381-417; J. J. ENZ, “The Book of Exodus as a Literary Type for the Gospel of John”, *JBL* 76 (1975) 208-215; R. H. SMITH, “Exodus Typology in the Fourth Gospel”, *JBL* 81 (1962) 329-342.

(²⁸) In HENNECKE—SCHNEEMELCHER I: 163-4, this saying is thought to be taken from the *Gospel of the Hebrews* rather than *Nazarenes*.

(²⁹) This view has been defended by C. E. CARLSTON, “Transfiguration and Resurrection”, *JBL* 80 (1961) 233-240 and E. KÄSEMANN, *RGK* 6: 1835, but challenged by Reginald H. FULLER, *The Formation of the Resurrection Narratives* (New York 1971) 165-166 and R. H. STEIN, “Is the Transfiguration (Mark 9:2-8) a Misplaced Resurrection-Account”? *JBL* 95 (1976) 79-96. The first position is assumed by Robinson (e.g. “On the *Gattung* of Mark (and John)”, 116) and by the present writer for heuristic purposes.

(³⁰) Acts 13,33 cites Ps 2,7 in connection with Jesus’ resurrection.

(³¹) W. H. BROWNLEE (“Whence the Gospel according to John?”, *John and Qumran* [ed. J. H. CHARLESWORTH; London 1972] 166-193) believes that the fourth evangelist is dependent upon an early Aramaic tradition in which the Baptist’s exclamation, “Behold, the Lamb of God”! was an expression of the theology of the Suffering Servant hymn (see pp. 177-179).

within the various components of the "prologue" serves to underscore the kerygmatic nature of Jesus' earthly ministry. Jesus is the Word who was in the beginning with the Father (1,1.18) and who became flesh (1,14). An important and recurring theme in the fourth gospel is the idea that Jesus is returning (i.e. after the resurrection, cf. 7,33; 13,33 f) to the place from which he came (i.e. from "above", cf. 8,23).

Both gospels introduce the ministry of Jesus with the baptism of John which in itself provided a strong link between the prophetic tradition of Israel and the ministry of Jesus which is to culminate in the resurrection. Such a culmination is in view, it would appear, when the heavenly voice echoes Ps 2,7, a psalm which was understood messianically. Jesus is God's anointed, the Messiah.

2. *Jesus' Teaching Seen as Enigmatic*

In both gospels the idea is developed that Jesus' teaching is enigmatic, if not incomprehensible⁽³²⁾. In the often discussed passage on parables in Mark 4 Jesus is understood as regarding the parables as somehow mysterious or unintelligible: "To you has been given the secret [μυστήριον] of the kingdom of God, but for those outside everything is in parables so that they may indeed see but not perceive..." (4,11-12). That parables characterize Jesus' basic mode of teaching is also asserted: "With many such parables he spoke the word to them, as they were able to hear it; he did not speak to them without a parable..." (4,33-34). It is clear that what Mark means by "parable" (παραβολή) is "riddle", a meaning that is possible for the Hebrew equivalent *mšl* (or the Aramaic *mtl'*)⁽³³⁾. Although no parables of the synoptic variety are to be found in the fourth gospel, the idea that Jesus speaks enigmas finds expression: "This figure [παροιμία] Jesus used with them [lit. "spoke to them"], but they did not understand what he was saying to them" (10,6). After the discourse on being "born again" Jesus asks of Nicodemus: "Are you a teacher of Israel, and yet you do not understand this?"

⁽³²⁾ This feature was observed long ago by W. WREDE (*The Messianic Secret* [Cambridge 1971] 61 *et passim*) and was understood as one of the ingredients of the "messianic secret" in Mark, a motif which, Wrede also noted, reappears in John.

⁽³³⁾ See J. JEREMIAS, *The Parables of Jesus* (New York 1963) 15-18.

(3,10); cp. also the response of the crowd following the feeding discourse, 6,29-66, esp. v. 60: "This is a hard saying; who can listen to it?"

3. *Obduracy and Scripture Fulfillment*

This point is closely related to the previous one. Not only is the teaching of Jesus regarded as enigmatic in the gospels of Mark and John, but the people, including the disciples themselves, are unable to penetrate the true significance of Jesus' person and message. In both gospels this theme is tied to scripture and is seen as its fulfillment. On more than one occasion in Mark the disciples are depicted as obdurate. After the feeding and the stilling of the storm miracles the disciples were amazed, "for they did not understand about the loaves, but their hearts were hardened" (6,52). Again in reference to bread, Jesus asks his disciples: "Do you not yet perceive or understand? Are your hearts hardened? Having eyes do you not see, and having ears do you not hear?" (8,17-18). Here the language of Isa 6,9-10, cited earlier in reference to the "outsiders" (4,12) is applied to the disciples themselves. It is significant that both references to the disciples as obdurate place stress on their failure to perceive correctly the significance of the "bread". It has been suggested that the original *Sitz im Leben* of the bread miracle(s) was that of the eucharist celebrated in the context of the primitive church⁽³⁴⁾. Theodore J. Weeden, Jr., has argued that Mark has indeed intended to portray the disciples as having failed to grasp the true essence of Jesus' messiahship, namely, the necessity of his suffering and death (cf. Jesus' rebuke of Peter in 8,31-33)⁽³⁵⁾. Thus, this obduracy on the part of the disciples in reference to the miracle of the loaves carries with it a kerygmatic connotation.

What is surprising is that in John also it is the miracle of the loaves, followed by the eucharistic discourse, that results in obduracy on the part of some of Jesus' disciples: "After this many of his disciples drew back and no longer went about with him" (6,66). In fact, it is in this context that the betrayal by Judas is mentioned for the first time (6,70-71). The eucharistic nature of Jesus' discourse

⁽³⁴⁾ P. J. ACHTEMEIER, "The Origin and Function of the Pre-Markan Miracle Catena", *JBL* 91 (1972) 198-221.

⁽³⁵⁾ See n. 3 above.

was too “hard” (σκληρός—possibly the double meaning hints at obduracy? Cf. σκληρύνειν in Mark 6,52; 8,17; John 12,40), even for one of the Twelve. Nevertheless, the parallel here is not exact. Whereas in Mark obduracy describes all of the disciples, in John it is limited to disciples other than the Twelve.

In both gospels the key Old Testament text cited to explain the phenomenon of obduracy is Isa 6,9-10. Although in Mark it is applied to the Twelve, this prophetic text is specifically cited in reference to Jesus’ opponents. In Mark 4,11-12 they are called οἱ ἔξω (“the outsiders”) and in John 9,39 (Isa 6,9) and 12,40 (Isa 6,10) they are the “Jews” who have rejected Jesus. What is important is that the Isaiah quotation is presented in the telic sense in both gospels. That is to say, it was Jesus’ (i.e., in Mark) or God’s (i.e., in John) *purpose* to render the people obdurate. Mark’s paraphrase, which consists of parallel ἵνα and μήποτε clauses, appears to be best understood as telic or final in meaning⁽³⁶⁾ while John’s paraphrase is unmistakably final: “He [i.e. God] has blinded their hearts and hardened their heart, lest [ἵνα μή] they should see with their eyes and perceive with their heart, and turn for me to heal them”. Assuming the Massoretic pointing of Isa 6,9-10 to be correct, and I believe it is, it is significant that Mark and John prefer the harsh telic version when the other Old Testament versions (e.g. LXX, Targum, Peshitta) mitigate the text’s severity in various ways⁽³⁷⁾ and when Matthew and Luke, who have Mark before them, also mitigate Mark’s harsh purpose of the parables⁽³⁸⁾. The fourth evangelist states that despite Jesus’ many signs, which illustrate God’s glory in an unambiguous way (cf., for example, 11,40), “they did not believe in him” (12,37). The evangelist asserts that this unbelief fulfilled Isa 53,1 and, therefore, “they could not believe” (12,39). To prove his inability the evangelist cites Isa 6,10. Although not as explicit as in the fourth gospel, in Mark there is reference to scripture fulfillment with respect to Jesus’ rejection and death (9,12; 14,49, “let the scriptures be ful-

⁽³⁶⁾ Cf. D. DAUBE, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism* (London 1956) 149; M. BLACK, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (Oxford 1967) 213-4. I have dealt with the issue more fully in “The Function of Isaiah 6: 9-10 in Mark and John”, *NovT* 29 (1982) 124-138.

⁽³⁷⁾ See my forthcoming article, “The Text of Isaiah 6: 9-10”, in *ZAW*.

⁽³⁸⁾ See “The Function of Isaiah 6: 9-10 in Mark and John”, 137.

filled") as well as numerous predictions of the impending passion (cf. 8,31; 9,30-32; 10,32-34)⁽³⁹⁾.

Both evangelists have cited Old Testament texts to demonstrate not simply that Jesus' rejection and death were anticipated, but that the very purpose and intention of Jesus was to foster the obduracy which would lead to the passion. This similarity is all the more significant when it is observed that Matthew and Luke regard Jesus' rejection as the *result* of his ministry, not as its *purpose*.

4. *The Hermeneutical Turning-Point and the Kerygma*

In a number of articles Robinson has offered a corrective of Wrede's thesis by suggesting that Mark and John were attempting to locate the hermeneutical turning-point, not at Easter (as Wrede had supposed), but before Easter and so within the period of Jesus' "public" ministry⁽⁴⁰⁾. Robinson believes that this remarkable similarity shared by Mark and John may point us to the rationale for the emergence of the *Gattung* gospel. This hermeneutical turning-point consists of the following elements.

(a) *Kerygmatic confession is made by the disciples.* In Mark 8,29 Peter makes the confession: "You are the Christ". Similarly, in John 6,69 Peter confesses: "You are the Holy One of God" (cp. also John 16,30). It is important to observe that these Markan and Johannine confessions occur shortly after accounts of the feeding miracle and both are in response to Jesus' direct question. The eucharistic/kerygmatic context of the feeding miracle has already been noted. Thus, both Mark and John have the disciples, with Peter as their spokesman, make a kerygmatic confession shortly after a miracle which itself points to the kerygma.

⁽³⁹⁾ KOLENKOW (see n. 22 above) has argued that the theological *Tendenz* that the miracles provoked controversy (e.g. healing on the Sabbath) emerged as a written *Urevangelium* which, she further believes, underlies both gospels. Although her source theory is untenable (see FORTNA's criticism in n. 22 above and "'Peter Warming Himself': The Problem of an Editorial Seam") the theological *Tendenz* that she has clarified may be helpful in understanding the early church's rationale and apologetic in answering the question why Jesus, after a ministry of miracles and wonders, would be rejected and crucified.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ See the items cited above in n. 14.

(b) *Jesus himself begins to teach kerygmatically.* Closely connected to the kerygmatic confession of the disciples is the new kerygmatic emphasis of Jesus' teaching. In Mark 8,31 we read: "And he began to teach them that the Son of man must suffer many things, and be rejected by the elders and the chief priests and the scribes, and be killed, and after three days rise again". Other passion predictions in Mark have already been noted. In the fourth gospel it is not as easy to point to a specific occasion in which Jesus begins to teach kerygmatically, for the entire duration of Jesus' ministry, as depicted in the fourth gospel, is essentially kerygmatic. However, after Peter's confession (6,67-69) the Jews' plot to kill Jesus is stated (7,1) and Jesus asks the crowd pointedly: "Why do you seek to kill me?" (7,19). Like the chronological sequence in Mark, it is after the kerygmatic confession of the disciples that Jesus enters Jerusalem (Mark 11,1; John 12,12) and so inaugurates passion week.

(c) *The Transfiguration points forward to the Easter Kerygma.* Robinson and Charles E. Carlston, among others, have suggested that the transfiguration narrative in Mark (9,2-8) may have been originally a resurrection account, the one involving Peter and mentioned by Paul (cf. 1 Cor 15,5)⁽⁴¹⁾. Robinson has argued that Mark may have deliberately relocated this epiphany in order to underscore the kerygmatic nature of Jesus' pre-Easter ministry⁽⁴²⁾. The disciples make kerygmatic confession, Jesus himself proclaims the kerygma, and then the kerygmatic event itself takes place. Even if the idea that the transfiguration is a relocated Easter epiphany is not compelling, the hermeneutical significance of its location in Mark is essentially unchanged. An event has been described which is quite similar to the Easter event. Bracketed between the predictions of the passion, Jesus is seen in the glory and power of his kingdom. Again, in the case of the fourth gospel there is no particular occasion in which Jesus' kerygmatic dimension is heightened, for from beginning to end Jesus is presented in the highest terms of christology⁽⁴³⁾. However, there is one instance which may serve a function similar to that of the transfiguration narrative in Mark. After his entry into Jerusalem (John 12,12-15) Jesus delivers a discourse on his impending

⁽⁴¹⁾ See n. 29 above.

⁽⁴²⁾ ROBINSON, "On the *Gattung* of Mark (and John)", 116.

⁽⁴³⁾ E. KÄSEMANN, *The Testament of Jesus: A Study of the Gospel of John in the Light of Chapter 17* (Philadelphia 1968).

ing "hour" of glorification which, of course, means his death. His discourse is interrupted by the voice from heaven: "I have glorified [my name], and I will glorify it again" (12,28). That is, God glorified his name when Jesus had first appeared (before Easter) and God will glorify it again when Jesus reappears (after Easter). Jesus then goes on to speak of the necessity of his being "lifted up" which has the double meaning of exaltation and death (12,30-33)⁽⁴⁴⁾. Rudolf Bultmann thought that the voice tradition here in John may in fact represent a variant tradition of Mark's account⁽⁴⁵⁾. Even if it does not, it serves the similar theological function of pointing to heavenly confirmation of Jesus' kerygmatic mission prior to its realization at Easter.

(d) *The hermeneutical shift from obscure to plain speech is formally recognized.* Another important ingredient that suggests theological and hermeneutical similarity between the gospels of Mark and John is the formal recognition that Jesus' speech shifts from what is regarded as obscure or enigmatic to that which is plainly understood⁽⁴⁶⁾. This shift is realized by the usage of a pair of technical terms, παραβολή (παροιμία) / παρησία, i.e. "parable" / "plain". It has already been pointed out that the evangelist Mark understands Jesus' parables as enigmatic (4,11-12) and that they are characteristic of Jesus' teaching ministry in general (4,33-34). However, in Mark 8,32, in a context which we have already found to be highly kerygmatic, the evangelist tells us that Jesus, in making his first passion prediction, said it "plainly" (καὶ παρησίᾳ τὸν λόγον ἐλάλει. In

⁽⁴⁴⁾ R. E. BROWN (*The Gospel according to John I-XII* [Garden City, NY 1966] 166) has argued that the Suffering Servant hymn lies behind John 12 (the citation of Isa 53,1 and the presence of the thematic verbs ὑποῦν and δοξάζειν would be his chief evidence). Against Brown's view is R. SCHNACKENBURG, *The Gospel according to St John* (New York 1980) II, 414. In all probability, however, Brown is correct, for there is evidence that the voice from heaven (John 12,28) is meant to link Jesus' discourse to the context of the Servant hymn (see Isa 52,6); see my article, "The Voice from Heaven: A Note on John 12.28", *CBQ* 43 (1981) 405-408. G. BORNKAMM (*Geschichte und Glaube: Erster Teil* [Munich 1968]) argues against the position of Käsemann (see n. 43 above) and concludes that the fourth evangelist has developed a *theologia crucis*.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ R. BULTMANN, *The Gospel of John* (Philadelphia 1971) 428, n. 1.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ ROBINSON believes this phenomenon to be the most important ingredient (e.g. "Gnosticism and the New Testament", 141-142).

Mark, Jesus' λόγος refers to the gospel cf. 2,2; 4,33). Whereas in Mark these technical terms are located in two separate, but thematically related, contexts (παραβολή in 4,11.33-34; παρησία in 8,32), in John, however, the terms appear in the same context twice. The evangelist has Jesus say: "These things I have spoken to you in riddles [παροιμία]; a hour is coming [i.e. Easter] when no longer I shall speak to you in riddles, but openly [παρησία]" (16,25). However, the disciples do not understand later at Easter, but they immediately recognize the shift to the open kerygmatic speech: "Ah, now you are speaking plainly [παρησία], not in any figure [παροιμία]"! (16,29). It is true that in the fourth gospel the disciples are expected to attain to a new and higher kerygmatic understanding of Jesus after Easter (cf. 2,22; 12,16), but here it is asserted that the disciples perceived the kerygmatic nature of Jesus' word *before* the Easter event. This recognition on the part of the disciples accords well with the points described above and, taken together, constitute a hermeneutical turning-point within the gospels of Mark and John. Both gospels, then, have worked out the idea that at some time during Jesus' pre-Easter ministry his true kerygmatic nature became evident, even if it was not fully understood until the Easter event.

5. *Terminus ad quem of Gattung Gospel*

To note that both gospels conclude their narratives with accounts of the resurrection (though only implied in Mark) may seem hardly worthy of comment. However, when one realizes that there are "gospels" in which the resurrection is not the *terminus ad quem*, but the *terminus a quo*, the observation takes on a new degree of significance. Again, it has been Robinson who has sensed the importance of this fact and has related it to the gnostic *Gattung* "gospel"⁽⁴⁷⁾. Robinson has argued that the luminous resurrection traditions came to be easily exploited by gnostic groups and that in all probability emergent orthodoxy felt it necessary to suppress these traditions. If the transfiguration account in Mark 9 was originally a resurrection story that went back to an early stage in the Easter tradition (the link to Peter is attested by 1 Cor 15,5 and 2 Pet 1,16-18) then Mark has apparently attempted to domesticate the tradition of

(47) ROBINSON, "On the *Gattung* of Mark (and John)", 107-116.

the luminous appearance to Peter by relocating it within Jesus' public ministry. Such an effort may explain how Mark's gospel could have conceivably ended at 16,8⁽⁴⁸⁾. Whereas the gnostic gospels begin with an appearance of the resurrected Christ their orthodox counterparts end with the resurrection. What post-Easter appearances are recorded are carefully controlled. Luke attests this concern when it is observed how he has limited the period of resurrection appearances to "forty days", which stands in contrast to the gnostic gospels in which the resurrected Christ appears and reappears for a much longer (even indefinite) period.

But Mark and John never contended to produce non-kerygmatic narratives. Rather, they are careful to emphasize that Jesus' earthly ministry was itself the beginning of the kerygma. Both evangelists appeal to the baptism/heavenly voice tradition, a tradition which may very well have been derived from Easter tradition. The fourth evangelist takes this theology a step further by intercalating the hymnic material of the prologue with the baptist narrative. In Easter, the *terminus ad quem* of the "gospel", the conclusion of the kerygma is reached. All that Jesus set out to do, all that God purposed to do in him, had been realized at Easter. But Easter is only the conclusion, for it has little meaning apart from Jesus' earthly ministry. Therefore, according to the evangelists Mark and John, the pre-Easter Jesus is as significant kerygmatically as the post-Easter resurrected Christ.

The Jewish Sitz im Leben

Although Robinson has made several helpful observations, his gnostic trajectory approach appears to be too limited. He understands the major factor leading to the emergence of the orthodox *Gattung* gospel to have been an emerging orthodoxy's response to the gnosticizing proclivity to relegate to insignificance the life and ministry of the pre-Easter Jesus (a proclivity which he has docu-

⁽⁴⁸⁾ Recently several redaction critics have argued that the evangelist Mark intended to end his gospel with the empty tomb (i.e. 16,1-8), e.g. WEEDEN (see n. 3 above), W. KELBER, *The Kingdom in Mark: A New Place and a New Time* (Philadelphia 1974), and the various contributors in KELBER, ed., *The Passion in Mark* (Philadelphia 1976).

mented well)⁽⁴⁹⁾. But Robinson's solution does not adequately take into account the Jewish *Sitz im Leben* against which the gospel of John must be viewed⁽⁵⁰⁾ and in contrast with which the gospel of Mark should also be considered⁽⁵¹⁾.

D. Moody Smith has argued recently that no amount of miracles or "signs" would ever convince a first century Jewish audience that Jesus was the Messiah, if there no convincing explanation had been offered for his rejection and death⁽⁵²⁾. Smith has concluded that John 12,37-41 is a transitional unit that links together Jesus' ministry of miracles (chapters 1-11) and his passion (chapters 13-20)⁽⁵³⁾. This transitional unit has a hostile Jewish audience in view, Smith believes, because it is made up of the two citations taken from Isaiah which explain Jewish unbelief (i.e. 53,1 and 6,10). Smith finds it hard to imagine the circulation of a missionary tractate intended for unbelieving Jews which did not contain a scriptural explanation for Jesus' death⁽⁵⁴⁾. To meet this need a proto-gospel was composed linking Jesus' miracles to his passion via the motif of prophesied unbelief and rejection⁽⁵⁵⁾.

Although not in nearly so obvious manner, Mark also has linked Jesus' public ministry to his passion via the same kind of scriptural apologetic. He has employed Isa 6,9-10 in the same predestinarian sense as that of John's usage. Mark presents Jesus as rejected because of hardness of heart (3,5) and understands that Jesus' passion was to "fulfill" the scriptures in a general sense (14,49). Finally, Mark's midrashic usage of scripture lends further support to the idea

⁽⁴⁹⁾ ROBINSON, "On the *Gattung* of Mark (and John)", 113; "Gnosticism and the New Testament", 142.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ E.g. J. L. MARTYN, *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel* (New York 1968).

⁽⁵¹⁾ Even ROBINSON himself has noted several items in Mark that appear to be explaining Christianity's relationship to Judaism (see his *The Problem of History in Mark* [SBT 21; London 1957] 83-84).

⁽⁵²⁾ D. M. SMITH, "The Setting and Shape of a Johannine Narrative Source", *JBL* 95 (1976) 231-241.

⁽⁵³⁾ SMITH, 238-241.

⁽⁵⁴⁾ SMITH, 235-236. Such a purpose has been suggested regarding the "signs" source.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ Smith's "narrative source" is something similar to what Kolenkow has hypothecated (see n.22 above). I wonder why the evangelist himself cannot be regarded as the theologian responsible for producing this transitional unit.

that Mark's gospel is to be seen within the context of a Jewish *Sitz im Leben*⁽⁵⁶⁾.

Conclusion

In my view the present study has lent further credibility to Robinson's overall approach. The hermeneutical elements which Mark and John hold in common have been further clarified and have been supplemented with additional relevant items. Moreover the present study advances the discussion in three important areas beyond the point where Robinson has left off. First, this study takes more fully into account the Jewish *Sitz im Leben* against which the gospels should be viewed. No matter what degree of gnosticizing proclivity may be felt present, this aspect of the evangelists' *Sitz* must not be overlooked. Second, and related to the first point, this study takes into account the role played by the Old Testament in the gospels of Mark and John, particularly the function of Isaiah. One gets the impression in reading Robinson that the Old Testament had little or no significance for the evangelists, at least insofar as it may help us describe the forces at work upon their understanding of Jesus and his relationship to the kerygma. Third, this study recognizes the importance of the obduracy motif in the gospels of Mark and John. This factor, also, is closely related to the two points above. This common hermeneutical ingredient is immensely important for any attempt to understand the rapprochement of two seemingly disparate traditions — one tradition centered around the miraculous activities of the exalted Christ (often times discussed in connection to "divine man" christology), the other tradition emphasizing Jesus' suffering and death (as, for example, exemplified by the teaching of Paul).

The major rationale for the creation of the *Gattung* "gospel", as we have it in Mark and John, is not simply to show that the pre-Easter Jesus has kerygmatic relevance (although this may have been

⁽⁵⁶⁾D. DAUBE ("The Earliest Structure of the Gospels", *NTS* 5 [1959] 174-187) has shown that Mark 12 is patterned after Passover Haggadah. R. MEYE, "Psalm 107 as 'Horizon' for Interpreting the Miracle Stories of Mark 4: 35-8: 26", *Unity and Diversity in New Testament Theology* (George Eldon Ladd Festschrift; ed. R. A. Guelich; Grand Rapids 1978) 1-13. J. W. BOWKER ("Mystery and Parable: Mark iv. 1-20", *JTS* 25 [1974] 300-317) has argued that Mark 4,1-20 is a skillfully developed midrash on the "holy seed" of Isa 6,13.

a concern), but to show how the exalted Christ of the Christian kerygma could have been rejected and crucified by his own people (cf. John 1,11). Both evangelists develop a *theologia crucis* and they both do it by appealing to certain Old Testament texts and Old Testament motifs (e.g. obduracy to divine truth). Paul's reference to Jesus' death "according to the scriptures" reflects this concern at an earlier stage (cf. 1 Cor 15,3). That there is such an appeal to the Old Testament and concern with Jesus and his community's relationship to Jewish laws and customs argues strongly for understanding that a major purpose lying behind the canonical *Gattung* gospel is one of Christian apologetic vis-à-vis Judaism⁽⁵⁷⁾. Whereas the Pauline kerygma was effective in the Gentile *Sitz im Leben*⁽⁵⁸⁾, for Jesus to be understood as Israel's Messiah there had to be careful scriptural explanation and demonstration. It would appear that the evangelists Mark and John have attempted to respond to the Jewish context of their time as well as having attempted to correct, as Robinson has argued, a gnosticizing proclivity.

Such apologetic concerns, however, do not point us to a specific literary *Gattung*. But if it has been shown that the evangelists Mark and John had indeed attempted to develop a christology that accommodates scripture and one that answers Jewish questions, then we would do well to look to Jewish tradition for the gospel's literary antecedents. Traces of Hellenistic style should hardly surprise us and suggest no more than the fact that since Alexander Palestinian

⁽⁵⁷⁾ Recently D. JUEL (*Messiah and Temple* [SBLDS 31; Missoula 1977]) has shown that Mark's christology must be seen against the background of how Jesus and the Christian community relate to established Judaism as epitomized by the Temple. Major studies on Matthew (e.g., G. BORNKAMM, *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew* [with G. BARTH and H.J. HELD; Philadelphia 1963] and K. STENDAHL, *The School of St. Matthew* [Philadelphia 1968]) and on Luke-Acts (e.g., Jacob Jervel, *Luke and the People of God: A New Look at Luke-Acts* [Minneapolis 1972] and D. L. TIEDE, *Prophecy and History in Luke-Acts* [Philadelphia 1980]) have shown that the pressing question facing early Christianity had to do with its identity, particularly with respect to Judaism and the Old Testament.

⁽⁵⁸⁾ In a Gentile setting the proclamation of the gospel would have been adequate in itself. Perhaps it was for this reason that Paul felt that it was unnecessary to discuss the historical Jesus. From Rom 1,4 and 2 Cor 5,16 it is possible to infer that Paul understood Jesus' messiahship as having begun at Easter (cf. Acts 2,36).

culture has in part come under Greek influence⁽⁵⁹⁾. A comparison of the hermeneutics of Mark and John, as revealed particularly in those passages in which the kerygmatic nature of Jesus receives emphasis, may point us to the essential theology of and rationale for the New Testament *Gattung* gospel, a *Gattung* in which Easter tradition (i.e., the very essence of the Church's kerygma) has been blended with the traditions of Jesus.

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SOMMAIRE

Les exégètes ont proposé plusieurs *Gattungen* (genres) en guise de paradigmes littéraires convenant à l'évangile de Marc. Cependant, aucun consensus n'a pu s'établir parmi eux. L'auteur de cet article pense qu'il vaut mieux se concentrer sur les similitudes herméneutiques entre les évangiles de Marc et de Jean, surtout s'il est possible de montrer qu'ils sont littérairement indépendants. Ces similitudes peuvent orienter, non pas vers des sources écrites communes ou vers un genre littéraire particulier, mais vers une herméneutique commune dans les cercles chrétiens primitifs. Selon cette herméneutique, la christologie devient intelligible uniquement dans la perspective du rejet et de la mort de Jésus.

(⁵⁹) KEE, *Community of the New Age*, 29-30.

A Master's Praise Luke 16,1-8a

The master's praise for an unjust steward has created confusion, controversy and embarrassment⁽¹⁾ in the interpretation of the parable of the unjust steward⁽²⁾. How could the master praise the servant? What is the master praising? What in the steward's behavior is unjust? Finally is v. 8a the parable's conclusion, its penultimate conclusion, or is it even part of the original parable⁽³⁾?

In the first part we will examine the issues surrounding v. 8a under three headings: the parable's ending from a stylistic perspective, the economic background presupposed by the story, and the structural narrative model. In the second part we will analyze the parable using reader-response criticism while in the third part we will turn our attention to the relation between parable and kingdom.

(1) J. D. M. DERRETT, "Fresh Light on St. Luke XVI. The Parable of the Unjust Steward", *NTS* (1960-61) 199 n. 2 (reprinted in *Law in the New Testament* [London 1970] 48-77) lists a number of authors who remark on the parable's puzzling or embarrassing character. L. J. TOPEL, "On the Injustice of the Unjust Steward: Lk 16: 1-13", *CBQ* 37 (1975) 216 n. 1 and 2 provides a classification of significant literature on the parable. Unfortunately, due to homoeoteleuton, the reference to Derrett's article was confused with D. R. FLETCHER, "The Riddle of the Unjust Steward: Is Irony the Key?", *JBL* 82 (1963) 15-30. D. O. VIA's discussion, *The Parables* (Philadelphia 1967) 155-162, and the exchange between J. D. CROSSAN and VIA in "A Structuralist Approach to the Parables", *Semeia* 1 (1974) esp. 31-33, 124, 206-208, should be added to Topel's list.

(2) See C. H. DODD's often quoted, "We can almost see here notes for three separate sermons on the parable as text", *The Parables of the Kingdom* (New York 1961) 17.

(3) This paper is concerned not with the parable's redactional usage but with its functioning in the corpus of Jesus' language. Most recent literature has been concerned with its redactional use.

I. Recent Interpretation

1. *Ending of the Parable.* There is no unanimity about the parable's conclusion although several recent commentators have maintained v. 8a as the conclusion⁽⁴⁾. The argument turns around the referent of *ho kyrios* in v. 8a: is it Jesus or the master in the story? Joachim Jeremias' argument typifies those who see Jesus as the referent⁽⁵⁾. For him the original parable ended at v. 7. His argument is twofold. (1) It is not believable that a master would have praised the servant, therefore *ho kyrios* must refer to someone other than "the master". (2) On analogy with Luke 18,6, *ho kyrios* is Luke's way of referring to Jesus⁽⁶⁾. If I understand Jeremias's reconstruction, v. 8 was originally Jesus' own interpretation of the parable, but Luke later inserted *ho kyrios* into the verse as a reference to Jesus. Jeremias must argue that Jesus is responsible for all of v. 8 because if the conclusion is only the first half of the verse, then Jesus praises an unjust steward. In v. 8b Jesus points to the correct understanding of the commendation: "it is limited to the

(4) VIA, *The Parables*, 156; TOPEL, "On the Injustice", 218; J. FITZMYER, "The Story of the Dishonest Manager (Lk 16: 1-13)", *TS* 25 (1964) 27-28; E. FUCHS, "L'Évangile et l'argent: la parabole de l'intendant intelligent", *Bulletin du Centre Protestant d'études* 20 (1978) 4-5. But D. CROSSAN (*In Parables* [New York 1973] 109) argues that the parable ended at v. 7, while R. MERKELBACK ("Über das Gleichnis vom ungerechten Haushalter (Lucas 16, 1-13)" *VC* 33 [1979] 180-187) maintains vv. 8-9 are part of the parable and should be read as questions demanding a negative answer. M. BARTH, "The Dishonest Steward and his Lord, Reflections on Luke 16: 1-13", *From Faith to Faith* (Pittsburgh 1979) 64-65, sees vv. 9-13 as Jesus' comment on the parable which in turn is a commentary on Matt 10, 16 b.

(5) *Parables of Jesus* (New York 1972) 45-47. FITZMYER, "Dishonest Manager", 27 and TOPEL, "On the Injustice", 218 n. 10, provide summaries of various positions.

(6) The statistical evidence is as follows. Luke uses *kyrios* 80 times (15 for Mark and 76 for Matt); 18 times it refers to God of which 10 are Old Testament quotes. 21 times it refers to "master" (but not Jesus), of which 16 are in parables. 41 times it refers to Jesus; 25 times in material only to be found in Luke; 8 in material common to the synoptics; 8 where the parallel text does not have *kyrios*. The evidence for Matt is somewhat similar (W. FOERSTER, "*kyrios*", *TDNT* 3 [1965] 1093). Actually, the more significant question is Mark's restraint.

prudence of the children of this world in their dealings with one another, and does not refer to their relations with God⁽⁷⁾”.

Jeremias' arguments are forced and strained. Joseph Fitzmyer has pointed out that it is more natural to understand *ho kyrios* in v. 8a as the master of the story because without v. 8a the story has no ending. “From the beginning the reaction of the master to the manager's conduct is expected; it is finally given in v. 8a⁽⁸⁾”. A natural reading would understand the *kyrios* of v. 8 as the same *kyrios* of vv. 3 and 5. Only after the change of subject in v. 9 (“But I say”) might one identify the *kyrios* of v. 8 with Jesus. Finally he rejects v. 8b as part of the original story because “it actually reads like a generalizing commentary on the parable⁽⁹⁾”, common in the oral tradition.

Fitzmyer bases his rejection of Jeremias' position implicitly upon the parable's narrative possibilities. He refuses to accept as a valid argument what Jesus could or could not have said. Even more importantly, he calls attention to the natural need for narrative closure, whether or not the closure is what one expects.

Jeremias' proposed parallel with Luke 18,6 is likewise not so clear as he supposes. In that parable, the judge's response in v. 5 to the widow's persistence creates narrative closure. In v. 6 the Lord calls attention to what the judge has said in order to draw out the correspondence with the application in v. 7. The next verse begins “I tell you” (*legō hymin*)⁽¹⁰⁾ which indicates the story's actual point. A similar pattern occurs in both the parable of the Pounds (Luke 19,12-28) and the saying on Watchful Servants (Luke 12,35-37)⁽¹¹⁾.

(7) JEREMIAS, *Parables of Jesus*, 46. VIA, *The Parables*, 156, also understands Jeremias in this fashion.

(8) “Dishonest Manager”, 27; TOPEL, “On the Injustice”, 218, in support. By maintaining that the master could not praise the servant, Jeremias assumes what needs to be proven and eliminates the unexpected from the art of story telling.

(9) “Dishonest Manager”, 28.

(10) *Legō hymin* is a Lucan formula. While the normal formula in Matt and Mark is *amēn legō hymin*, it occurs in Luke only five times of which 3 are parallel to other synoptics. In other parallel passages, Luke drops the *amēn* (15 times). The *legō hymin* formula occurs in 14 passages found only in Luke. Five times it appears in passages parallel to Matt.

(11) The *legō hymin* formula also is used to draw attention to the application in the following parables: Importunate Friend (11,8), the Great Supper

Following the conclusion of the parable of the Pounds, the disciples ask the Lord about its ending⁽¹²⁾. He responds, "I say to you" (*legō hymin*) and then provides a generalizing application. Likewise in the saying on watchful servants: "Blessed are those servants whom the master (*ho kyrios*) finds awake when he comes; truly I say to you (*amēn legō hymin*), he will gird himself and have them sit at table, and he will come and serve them". In all three cases where there is a *kyrios* in the story, Luke provides clear clues to the reader for a change of subject⁽¹³⁾. In chap. 16,8-9 a clear change in subject does not occur until v. 9, from third person narration to first and second person address. Thus Luke probably understood the narrative as ending at v. 8 with *kyrios* referring to the master and the application beginning in v. 9. The application is really to v. 8b⁽¹⁴⁾.

The stylistic argument clearly indicates that Luke received the parable with v. 8 as the conclusion. Since v. 8b is an addition by the oral tradition, is it likely that v. 8a was also added by the oral tradition? Dan Via's remark in this regard is on target. "It seems unlikely that the oral tradition would have preserved an appended statement that Jesus praised a character in his parable⁽¹⁵⁾". Via sees

(14,24), Lost Sheep (15,7), Lost Coin (15,10), and the Pharisee and Tax Collector (18,14). In both the parables of the Mustard Seed (13,18) and the Leaven (13,20), Luke uses the comparative verb in the first person (*homoioō, sō*).

(12) The textual witnesses for v. 25 are problematic. NESTLE-ALAND, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (26th ed; Stuttgart 1979) include the verse. METZGER (*A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* [London 1971] 169) gives the reading a "C" indicating considerable doubt. The United Bible Societies' committee included the verse because its omission from some manuscripts seemed to result from a tendency to assimilate toward Matthew and "an attempt to provide a closer connection between verses 24 and 26".

(13) It should be pointed out that Luke may intend a double meaning or a play on words. At the level of the narrative itself in which Jesus is addressing an audience, *kyrios* refers to master. This the stylistic argument clearly indicates. But at the second level at which Luke and his readers share an omniscient viewpoint, the referent could be Jesus.

(14) TOPEL, "On the Injustice", 219, sees 8b as an explicit application by the oral tradition and v. 9 as the beginning of Luke's application. I am essentially in agreement with this, only my argument has been stylistic.

(15) *The Parables*, 156. JEREMIAS' argument that Luke inserted *kyrios* (which we disproved on stylistic grounds above) also cannot meet Via's argument. Why would Luke have drawn attention to v. 8a?

v. 8b as an attempt to relieve the parable's tension by pointing the reader somewhere else.

On the basis of internal stylistic evidence the parable originally concluded with the master praising an unjust steward.

2. *Economic Background.* Another way to resolve the story's provocation involves a proposed economic background⁽¹⁶⁾. In Palestine a steward acted for his master as an agent capable of making binding agreements. Also, according to Derrett, a steward customarily made a profit by adding a share for himself to any debt owed his master. Since loans were frequently usurious and therefore against Jewish law, it was common practice to state the debt in terms of some commodity⁽¹⁷⁾. Accordingly, when the steward is dismissed from his master's employ, he is not cheating the master by reducing the debts, but foregoing his own profit in return for future upkeep. The master praises the steward for his decisive action in a time of emergency, while the accusation of being unjust refers to some prior action⁽¹⁸⁾.

This line of argument is not ultimately convincing. In vv. 5-7 the debt is clearly owed to the master⁽¹⁹⁾. Even more problematic for this line of argument, the steward is not called unjust until the parable's final line. The master praises the steward for his prudence while calling him unjust⁽²⁰⁾, indicating a relation between the two. This serves once again to call attention back to the parable's narrative.

3. *Narrative Structure.* John Dominic Crossan has put forward a variant argument that can be termed a structural narrative argument⁽²¹⁾. Crossan accepts in part Derrett's economic reconstruction. He sees the narrative developing as follows. The steward failed to

⁽¹⁶⁾ FITZMYER, "Dishonest Manager", 34-35, makes the best argument for this position. He in turn is highly dependent upon the work of DERRETT, "Fresh Light".

⁽¹⁷⁾ DERRETT, "Fresh Light", 212.

⁽¹⁸⁾ FITZMYER, "Dishonest Manager", 31-33.

⁽¹⁹⁾ F. MAAS, "Das Gleichnis vom ungerechten Haushalter. Lucas 16,1-8", *Theologia Viatorum* 8 (1961), 179, argues this strongly.

⁽²⁰⁾ TOPEL, "On the Injustice", 218.

⁽²¹⁾ "The Servant Parables of Jesus", *Semeia* 1 (1974) 17-62, "Structuralist Analysis and the Parables of Jesus", *ibid.*, 192-221.

gain for his master sufficient profits and so is threatened with the loss of his stewardship. In response he cancels his part of the agreed upon return (here following Derrett) in hopes of being taken in by the debtors after his dismissal. Crossan concludes that when vv. 2.5-7 "are read together... one has a picture of laziness organizing itself under crisis⁽²²⁾". For him there is no need for v. 8a and the parable ends "adequately" without it.

If this were all there were to Crossan's argument, the positions advanced above in support of v. 8a would be telling. But Crossan has introduced a new element. He sees this story (in dependence upon Dan O. Via, see below) as belonging to a cycle of trickster-dupe stories. He follows Heda Jason's model for such stories⁽²³⁾.

1. (a) A situation evolves which enables a Rascal to play a trick on Dupe;
 (b) Dupe reveals his foolishness so that Rascal can utilize it;
2. Rascal plans a trick;
3. Rascal plays a trick;
4. Dupe reacts as Rascal wished him to do;
5. Dupe has lost/Rascal has won.

The parable is then a trickster tale with steps 4 and 5 unused. The master-dupe reveals his foolishness by allowing a steward-rascal to carry out his own dismissal.

Crossan has oversimplified the narrative in two important aspects. (1) The parable is not simply a trickster-dupe narrative. Rather I would argue that the trickster narrative is a sub-plot (or sub-narrative) in what is initiated as a judgment or accounting story. The master's accounting is only complete in v. 8a. The trickster sub-plot is a response to the master's negative judgment in v. 2. As Via replied to Crossan: "Without 16:8a the parable has no express closure, denouement, or statement about whether the *actantiel* subject attained his object⁽²⁴⁾". (2) Crossan has confused the demands

⁽²²⁾ "Servant Parables", 33.

⁽²³⁾ I have modified the diagram found in CROSSAN, "Structural Analysis", 202. For a full listing of the model's functions, see H. Jason, *The Narrative Structure of Swindler Tales* (Santa Monica, CA 1968) 7.

⁽²⁴⁾ VIA, "Parable and Example Story: A Literary-Structuralist Approach", *Semeia* 1 (1974) 124.

of a formal model with the actual story (the formal model's investment). A formal model (like Jason's) indicates how most stories of this type operate. But a chief characteristic of art is to vary or play upon the model, or what is referred to as the juxtaposition of the familiar against the unfamiliar⁽²⁵⁾.

II. A Reading of the Parable

1. *A Reading.* Our analysis has concluded that the parable originally had a provocative ending, however unexpected. Its provocative character provides the clue as to where to turn our attention: we must examine the process of hearing or reading a parable⁽²⁶⁾. How does a text structure a response and how does the hearer/reader structure a text's reception? Both components are important for response to a text is an interaction between the conditions set up by the text (and author) and the respondent's efforts to control or make sense of a text. In the following reading, the parable will be broken up into units in order to observe the reading process better⁽²⁷⁾.

(1) "A certain man was rich who had a steward". All stories draw upon a repertoire⁽²⁸⁾ of genres, literary techniques, social expectations, cultural conventions, etc., that make a narrative life-like. The first unit invokes a number of elements from the repertoire. There are indications that the master might play the role of antagonist, since he is characterized as rich, a redundant note if he has a steward to look after his property. Rich man and steward belong to a social code representing definite values for a reader. In the world

⁽²⁵⁾ Ibid.

⁽²⁶⁾ The theory of reader-response criticism used here is primarily that of W. Iser, *The Implied Reader* (Baltimore 1974) chap. 11; *The Act of Reading* (Baltimore 1978). For an important collection of essays dealing with the topic see, J. P. TOMPKINS (ed.), *Reader-Response Criticism* (Baltimore 1980). N. PETERSON, "When is The End not the End? Literary Reflections on the Ending of Mark's Narrative", *Int* 34 (1980) 151-166, offers an interesting application of Iser's method to a gospel text.

⁽²⁷⁾ Since the parables were originally oral, one might object that we should be describing a listener instead of a reader. However, what we are actually describing is how the *receiving process* is structured. We could just as easily refer to the implied listener.

⁽²⁸⁾ *The Implied Reader*, 288; *The Act of Reading*, chap. 3. The repertoire includes what is called the historical context.

of Galilean peasants, rich masters may play the expected role of despot. Jeremias argues that the master in this story is an absentee landlord, a common phenomenon in Galilee⁽²⁹⁾. A stereotyped animosity between masters and servants is common in Jesus' parables⁽³⁰⁾. In the Laborers in the Vineyard (Matt 20,1-16), even though the master claims to be generous, there is obvious tension with the servants; and in the parable of Unforgiving Servant (Matt 18,23-34), although the master initially forgives, in the end he revokes his forgiveness. The parable of the Wicked Husbandmen (Mark 12,1-9) presents a vivid picture of the lengths to which hatred towards absentee landlords can go. In the parable of the Talents the one talent servant voices the peasant's fear: "Master, I knew you to be a hard man, reaping where you did not sow, and gathering where you did not winnow; so I was afraid" (Matt 25,24). Luke 7,25 can stand for a summary of the attitude of the *'am hā'areš* towards the rich: "What then did you go out to see? A man clothed in soft raiment? Behold, those who are gorgeously appareled and live in luxury are in kings' courts" (RSV). The first unit of this parable, drawing from a repertoire of social expectation, casts the man in a predetermined role — being rich distances and alienates him from a reader who expects him to behave in a stereotyped manner.

(2) "And this one (the steward) was accused to him as squandering his goods". The Greek word translated "was accused" (*dieblēthē*) is related to *diabolos*, devil. Walter Bauer says it signifies to "bring charges with hostile intent⁽³¹⁾". Werner Foerster gives nu-

⁽²⁹⁾ *Parables of Jesus*, 181; for a discussion of absentee landlords in Galilee, 64-65. Jeremias quotes an aphorism from *Mishnah* which indicates how extensive the phenomenon was. The saying deals with the assigning of property to princes: "The people of Galilee need not assign their share, since their fathers have done so for them already". M. HENGEL, *Die Zeloten* (ASGU 1; Leiden 1961) 89, indicates that the pervasiveness of absentee landlords drew the people to the side of the zealots.

⁽³⁰⁾ CROSSAN, *In Parables*, 86-120, attempts to construct a formal typology of what he calls the servant parables. A. WEISER, *Die Knechtsgleichnisse der synoptischen Evangelien*, SANT 29 (Munich 1971), does not include the Parable of the Unjust Steward in his grouping because the word for servant does not occur.

⁽³¹⁾ BAG (1979), 181. LIDDELL-SCOTT, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford 1948) 389, summarize their heading as "attack a man's character, calumniate".

merous examples of the word's negative sense, indicating that it is difficult "to distinguish between *diaballein* and 'to calumniate' ⁽³²⁾". Then, like most commentators, he rejects the negative sense in the Lucan parable ⁽³³⁾. But there are several good reasons in support of the negative sense. First, it is the word's normal meaning. Second, Derrett has pointed out that a steward could only be punished by "the heaping up of reproaches, and blackening of his character", and by a unilateral act of dismissal on the part of the master ⁽³⁴⁾. *Diaballein* exactly describes the first requirement and, as we shall see, the second is also met. These two reasons in themselves would seem to warrant a strong argument be made before abandoning the negative sense. No such argument has really been put forward.

A collaborating reason for preferring the negative sense is that it coheres with the narrative's reading structure. The hostile intent of the accusation causes both retrospection and anticipation ⁽³⁵⁾ on the part of the reader. The hostile accusation confirms the previous negative impression of the rich man and highlights the steward's precarious position. His fate calls forth sympathy, a motive for identification. Likewise, one anticipates the steward will respond to the accusation by laying out a defense or response. The reader's ability to anticipate action is important. One must know a story (repertoire) in order to understand it. The accusation against the steward opens out upon at least the following narrative possibilities ⁽³⁶⁾.

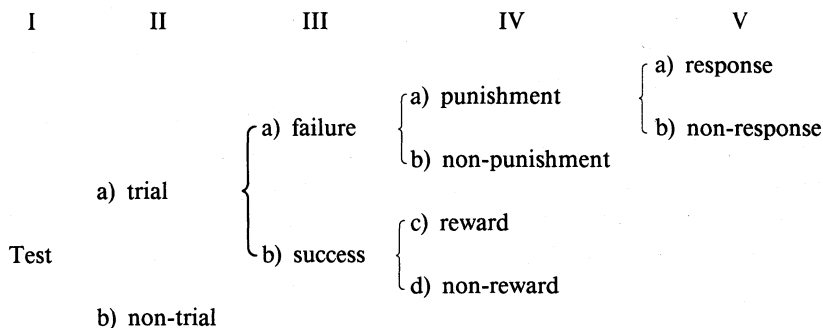
⁽³²⁾ TDNT 2 (1964) 71.

⁽³³⁾ "There is no necessary thought of calumniation", *ibid.* FITZMYER, "Dishonest Manager", 31 n. 19, in rejecting the negative sense, says, "But this meaning does not suit the context. The manager did not try to defend himself, and his subsequent conduct would be illogical if he had not been guilty". I will argue below that this is not necessarily the case. The problem here is similar to that of v. 8a, the presumption of what can be.

⁽³⁴⁾ "Fresh Light", 203.

⁽³⁵⁾ Retrospection and anticipation are key terms in Iser's description of the reading process. Because no story can ever be told in all its details, there are always gaps that need to be filled in. The filling in of the gaps creates retrospection (looking back) and anticipation (looking forward). *The Implied Reader*, 279-282.

⁽³⁶⁾ For the theory see C. BREMOND, "The Logic of Narrative Possibilities", *New Literary History* 11 (1980) 387-411. A number of Jesus' parables follow this narrative logic. In the Parable of the Unforgiving Servant, II a leads to IV b and concludes the IV a; in the Unjust Judge, the widow re-



These narrative possibilities are part of the repertoire of conventions that informs a reader as to what to expect in narrative action. How a model is implemented involves the skill and artistry of the story teller.

(3) "And calling he said to him, 'Give in the account of your stewardship for you are no longer able to be steward'". The rich man's response aligns him with the accusers, living up to the reader's expectation. Such is what rich men do; fiction imitates reality. The rich man's action confirms that the story reflects the world of the lower classes. In terms of narrative expectation (see diagram above), there is no expressed trial (II a), but the story jumps immediately to failure – punishment (III a/IV a). The steward gains sympathy and identification since he is given no opportunity to explain his actions, to respond to his accusers, or even to know what the accusations are, except that supposedly he has scattered the master's property abroad⁽³⁷⁾. The apparently arbitrary and summary judgment by the rich man only confirms the reader's expectations.

(4) "The Steward said to himself, 'What shall I do because my master is separating the stewardship from me'". By entering into the steward's mind, the reader takes up his perspective and begins to

quests II a, the judge responds II b, but eventually moves to III a. The accounting scenes of the Parable of the Talents present a binary on this pattern. In the two scenes of the successful servants I leads to II a leads to III b, and thus the binary of punishment-reward. In the one talent man's scene he seeks II b when he attempts to return the talent to the master. The master responds with II a, III a, IV a.

⁽³⁷⁾ TOPEL, "On the Injustice", 217 n. 7. The accusation hardly squares with Derrett's suggestion that he was making an excessive (usurious) profit.

identify with him. The steward's reference to the rich man as "my master", a term which accentuates distance and dependency, continues the process. Stewardship is not simply "taken away". Rather the Greek uses the metaphor to cut off, tear away—a matter of violence.

(5) "'To dig I am not strong enough; to beg I am ashamed'". As the steward plots a course of action, his own character emerges. Identification with the steward has depended upon the rich master's negative image, and expectations about his character result from rejecting the rich man. Now expectations are frustrated. By admitting he lacks the strength to dig and is ashamed to beg, he distances himself from the reader—in his stewardship he has taken on the airs of the rich, forcing a reader to reflect upon the estimation of the steward.

(6) "'I know⁽³⁸⁾ what I shall do in order that when I am removed from the stewardship they will receive me into their houses'. And calling together each one of the debtors of his master, he said to the first, 'How much do you owe my master'? And he said, 'A hundred measures of oil'. And he said to him, 'Take your bill and sit down quickly and write fifty'. Then to another he said, 'How much do you owe'? He said, 'A hundred measures of wheat'. He said to him, 'Take your bill and write eighty'". The servant's remark that he can neither dig nor beg conditions a reader to expect a counter-plot (see diagram, Va) to the master. But how does a reader respond to the steward's actions? Dan Via has argued that the actions of the steward belong to "a picaresque comedy... the story of a successful rogue⁽³⁹⁾". The steward can play the rogue because previously his master has been painted in villainous terms. To use Via's phrase, the reader can go on a moral holiday at the master's expense. The rogue is getting even. The rogue pattern, drawn from the repertoire of social conventions, provides the reader with a way of making sense (forming a consistency) of the steward's actions. The one who refuses to beg or dig is a rogue, and the rich man is getting what he deserves. Now it is apparent why the steward's interior monologue was important. Drawing the reader into

⁽³⁸⁾ E. D. BURTON, *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses in New Testament Greek* (Chicago 1903) 22, refers to this as a dramatic aorist with the sense of "I have it". I have been unable to confirm this in any other grammar.

⁽³⁹⁾ *The Parables*, 159.

the steward's subjectivity makes identification possible. The reader experiences the rogue getting even.

We can now observe the effect of the servant's remark about digging and begging. That remark was the audience's first opportunity to consider the steward directly. Until then only the master had been portrayed directly. The refusal to dig or beg not only sets up the rogue subplot as response to the steward's dismissal, but paradoxically it serves to heighten the reader's identification with the steward. The initial distancing caused by the remark is overcome in the rogue's activity and the audience's moral holiday at the master's expense serves to cement identification with the steward.

(7) "And the master praised the unjust steward for he acted prudently". The last line creates tension within the narrative⁽⁴⁰⁾. That the steward acted prudently (shrewdly and successfully)⁽⁴¹⁾ confirms the rogue image. But the master's commendation frustrates the reader's anticipation that he would respond in anger. The repertoire casts the master in negative values and the logic of plot demands punishment (see diagram, IV a), not evasion. The unexpectedness of the last line jolts the repertoire's use of familiar and expected patterns. The three unexpected terms are the master's praise, the steward's unjustness, and shrewdness. The shrewdness or prudence, as the typical virtue of a steward, is the master's way of ironically recognizing that the steward has finally done his job, although in an inappropriate circumstance. Praise runs directly contrary to the expectations of punishment. But the reminder that the steward is unjust is the most threatening to the reader. Although forewarned that the steward would neither dig nor beg, the reader accepted his actions as a rogue, sanctioned the picaresque comedy,

⁽⁴⁰⁾ MAAS, "Das Gleichnis vom ungerechten Haushalter", 173-184, points out the tension but sees the redactional point of the parable in the apparently "unjust" forgiveness.

⁽⁴¹⁾ BAG (1979) 866, indicates a translation of "wisely, shrewdly". H. PREISKER, "Lukas 16,1-7", TLZ 64 (1949) 85-92, argued that normally the adjective in the New Testament referred to one's grasping the eschatological situation. JEREMIAS, *Parables of Jesus*, 46, extended this to the adverb used in this parable. But *pistos* and *phronimos* are normal adjectives describing a steward's expected activity (Luke 12,42), loyalty and shrewdness in his master's behalf. FLETCHER ("Is Irony the Key?" 28) argues for a secular understanding of *phronimōs* but sees the irony in v. 9 which he takes to be authentic.

light fun at the master's expense. Now the comedy has a barbed end—the action was unjust. The story ends with the reader in an uncomfortable position. By sanctioning the rogue, the reader supported immorality.

A reader tries to make sense of a story by putting its various parts together so as to form a consistency⁽⁴²⁾, a consistent way of viewing the narrative events. The first consistency that emerges in this short story holds the rich man as bad and the steward by implication as good. The opening sequences portray the rich man as antagonist; he is rich and his judgment is arbitrary and summary. The steward disturbs part of the first consistency by refusing to dig or to beg. A second consistency forms with the description of the steward's actions in response to the master. The reader applies from the repertoire a pattern of picaresque comedy. In the first consistency the steward was a victim of the rich man's injustice, while in the second the rich man is the deserved victim of a rogue's schemes. But the story's conclusion shatters the latter consistency when the antagonist does not respond as expected (praise instead of anger) and reminds the reader that the steward is unjust. It is like the little boy who was caught with his hands in the cookie jar. But what is the reader to make of the story?

III. From Story to Parable

Because this story concerning a rich man and his steward is one of Jesus' parables, it implicitly has reference to the kingdom of God⁽⁴³⁾. The reader must make sense not only of the story itself, but also of the story's relation to kingdom of God. How are we to

(42) "Consistency" or "Consistency-building" is a technical term for ISER denoting the reader's effort to make sense of a text. Because a text contains gaps the reader must continually try to fit the pieces together so as to form a consistent "text-gestalt". The author in turn will try to disturb the consistency. *The Implied Reader*, 290-291; *The Act of Reading*, chap. 5, "Grasping a Text".

(43) This has become almost a consensus in recent parable criticism, see N. PERRIN, *Jesus and the Language of the Kingdom* (Philadelphia 1976) 1. J. E. BREECH, "Kingdom of God and the Parables of Jesus", *Semeia* 12 (1978) 15-40, raises a number of important reservations about this consensus.

envision the interaction? Paul Ricoeur has suggested that parables do not *refer* to kingdom but more precisely that kingdom *qualifies* parables⁽⁴⁴⁾. By this he means that parable receives its specifically religious dimension by being qualified by the symbol kingdom of God. Narrative becomes parable when it enters into kingdom's field of reference. A reader confronts a story and at the same time the expectations implied in kingdom of God, expectations drawn from the religious heritage's repertoire⁽⁴⁵⁾. Just as the reader must make sense of the story, so also he must make sense of the relation between story and kingdom.

The allegorical interpretation of the parable long has sensed the inappropriateness of the conjunction of picaresque comedy and kingdom of God. The two summary conclusions (vv. 8a-9) attempt to impose sense (consistency) upon the parable by diverting attention from the story's roguish character. But the oddness of the allegories only demonstrates the parable's deeply disturbing effect. The parable's off-color cast results from on the one hand the master's praise of the steward's behavior and on the other the sense of justice normally implied in the symbol kingdom. How are these to be reconciled?

Epiphor and diaphor⁽⁴⁶⁾ represent two basic ways of conceiving the metaphorical relation between story and kingdom. Epiphor involves a "transference" from one object to another by means of similarity. In parable, an epiphoric metaphor would elaborate a transference of similarity between story and kingdom. But in this parable epiphor manifestly will not work because transference on the basis of similarity is precisely the problem⁽⁴⁷⁾. The characterizations

⁽⁴⁴⁾ "Biblical Hermeneutics", *Semeia* 4 (1975) 33, 119.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ In my *Jesus, Symbol-Maker for the Kingdom* (Philadelphia 1981) 113-114, 120-122, I have tried to construct a formal model dealing with the conflict between the audience's expectation of kingdom and Jesus' use of the symbol.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ P. WHEELWRIGHT, *Metaphor and Reality* (Bloomington 1968) chap. 4. See the important critique of Wheelwright in M. A. TOLBERT, *Perspectives on the Parables* (Philadelphia 1979) 44-48.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ Both the allegories of vv. 8b-9 and the interpretations reviewed above are searching for an epiphoric understanding of the parable. The classic "single point" methodology of JÜLICHER, DODD, and JEREMIAS is based upon an epiphoric understanding of parable, see my "Parables of Growth Revisited", *BTB* 11 (1981) 3-9.

in the parable are at odds with the implied values of kingdom. In the second way of metaphor, diaphor, the mode of transference is juxtaposition, the combining of the unexpected. Diaphor creates a new experience of the metaphorical referent by challenging the normal way in which it is viewed, breaking the accepted epiphors. As Philip Wheelwright says, "new qualities and new meanings can emerge, simply come into being, out of some hitherto ungrouped combination of elements⁽⁴⁸⁾". In the parable under consideration, the relation between story and kingdom is clearly diaphoric—it is by juxtaposition with normal expectations of justice that it has its effect.

When the master's praise and the steward's behavior clash with the justice implied in the kingdom (i.e., when story and kingdom expectations collide), the reader must reconsider what justice in the kingdom can mean. The parable does not redefine justice (so it can offer no new definition of justice in the kingdom) but it does suggest that justice is somehow to be seen or heard in the parable's contours.

At the parable's conclusion a reader discovers that the price for going on a moral holiday was sanctioning a rogue's behavior. As the master reminds, the reader has witnessed and condoned injustice. The master's praise compels a reader into retrospection, into looking back and reconsidering the characterizations in the parable. Was the master arbitrary and summary in his judgment? Was the accusation of wasting goods true or false? Was the steward's behavior simply harmless fun at the master's expense? It should be noticed that the parable offers *no answers* to these questions, but it does indeed provoke them. The way in which the reader had made sense of the story collapses by the means of the retrospection caused by the last line. Now the parable challenges the reader's implicit world by challenging the way justice operates in that world.

The parable presents a counter-world to the reader's normal world. In that normal world power and justice are coordinates. The rich man possesses power and his initial judgment, arbitrary and summary, can be carried out because he is powerful. But the steward also possesses the power of a victim—he draws the reader to his side by sympathy, allowing one and all to enjoy his getting even.

(48) *Metaphor and Reality*, 85.

The victim's power as rogue is clearly greater than the supposed power of the rich man as dupe. But as we have argued, the story is not a simple trickster story in which the reader is allowed to go on a moral holiday with no penalty required. The master in the end demands from the reader a price (the admission that the action was unjust) and at the same time forfeits his power of tyranny by praising the steward. This act of praise, as we indicated above, forces the reader to reconsider the rich man's stereotype image operative in the parable. The reader now has no way to navigate in the world, its solid moorings have been lost—are masters cruel or not; are victims right in striking back? By its powerful questioning and juxtaposition the parable breaks loose the bond between power and justice and instead equates justice and vulnerability⁽⁴⁹⁾. The reader in the world of kingdom must establish new coordinates for power, vulnerability, and justice. Kingdom is for the vulnerable; for masters and stewards who do not get even.

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SOMMAIRE

L'article comprend trois parties. La première examine les questions concernant la louange du maître sous trois chefs: la fin de la parabole d'un point de vue stylistique, l'arrière-fond économique qui sous-tend l'histoire et un projet de modèle narratif structural. Dans la seconde partie, nous analysons la parabole selon la méthode de Wolfgang Iver (lecteur-réponse). Ce modèle dévoile comment le lecteur impliqué par sa lecture est structuré par la parabole et à son tour la structure. La dernière partie discute comment s'opère le passage métaphorique de la parabole au royaume.

⁽⁴⁹⁾ This coheres with Jesus' association with the outcast as well as, for example, his use of leaven in the parable of the leaven; see R. FUNK, *Jesus as Precursor*, Semeia Supplements 2 (1975) 62-63.

Gehörten Verheißungen zum ältesten Bestand der Väter-Erzählungen?

Albrecht Alt, Martin Noth und Gerhard von Rad haben vor einer Forschergeneration⁽¹⁾ fast der gesamten alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft nahezubringen vermocht, daß die Verheißungen von großer Nachkommenschaft bzw. vom Werden eines *gōj* und von Landbesitz zum Grundbestand der Vätertraditionen zu rechnen seien⁽²⁾. Gegen diese Auffassung wird inzwischen von vielen Autoren Sturm gelaufen, die in Anknüpfung an Jean Hoftijzer, *Die Verheißungen an die drei Erzväter* (1956), die Tradition der Verheißungen als relativ sehr spätes Gut der Pentateuchentstehung erweisen wollen⁽³⁾. Zum Beweis

⁽¹⁾ A. ALT, "Der Gott der Väter" (1929), in: *Kl. Schr.* I (21959) 1-78; Ders., "Zum Gott der Väter", *PJ* 36 (1940) 103-105; M. NOTH, *Überlieferungsgeschichte des Pentateuch* (Stuttgart 1948) 58-62, 86-127; G. v. RAD, "Der Anfang der Geschichtsschreibung im Alten Israel" (1944), in: *Ges. Studien*, I (München 1958) 148-188; Ders., *Theologie des Alten Testaments* I (München 1978) 179-189. Zur Forschungsgeschichte vgl. H. WEIDMANN, *Die Patriarchen und ihre Religion im Lichte der Forschung seit Julius Wellhausen* (Göttingen 1968); J. SCHARBERT, "Patriarchentradition und Patriarchenreligion", *VF* 19 (1974) 2-22; C. WESTERMANN, *Gen 12-50, (Erträge der Forschung* 48; Darmstadt 1975); DERS., *Die Verheißungen an die Väter* (Göttingen 1975) 92-111; mit weit über Israel hinausreichender Übersicht O. KAISER, "Altes Testament. Vorexilische Literatur", in: U. MANN (Hg.), *Theologie und Religionswissenschaft. Der gegenwärtige Stand der Forschungsergebnisse und Aufgaben im Hinblick auf ihr gegenseitiges Verhältnis* (Darmstadt 1973) 241-267. Vgl. noch W. SCHOTTROFF, "Soziologie und Altes Testament", *VF* 19 (1964) 46-60; W. DIETRICH, *Israel und Kanaan*, (SBS 94; Stuttgart 1979) 9-20; W. THIEL, *Die soziale Entwicklung Israels in vorstaatlicher Zeit* (Berlin 1980) 31 f.

⁽²⁾ WESTERMANN, SCHMID und RENDTORFF (s. A. 3) wollen alle Zusagen der Genesis in die Analyse der Verheißungstradition einbeziehen. Das Ergebnis scheint mir die Maßnahme nicht zu bestätigen.

⁽³⁾ Vor allem geht es um folgende Autoren: C. WESTERMANN, "Arten der Erzählung in der Genesis", in: *Forschung am Alten Testament* (München 1964) 9-91, bes. 11-47; DERS., *Die Verheißungen an die Väter* (1975); J. VAN SETERS, *Abraham in History and Tradition* (New Haven - London 1975);

werden im wesentlichen zwei Argumente vorgetragen: a) Die Verheißungen des Landbesitzes und der Entstehung unzählbarer Nachkommenschaft entstamme einer Zeit, in der sowohl der Landbesitz als die Existenz des Volkes schwerstens gefährdet waren, so daß nur Jahwes Verheißungen über derartige Gefährdungen hinwegzutragen vermochten. Da dies Argument nur schwer bewiesen werden kann, erhält es erst durch ein weiteres Gewicht. b) Die literarischen Schichten, die die Verheißungen enthalten, lassen sich durch ein spätes Vergleichsmaterial als relativ spät, frühestens als proto-deuteronomisch, eher aber als deuteronomisch-deuteronomistisch, wenn nicht z. T. sogar als noch später erweisen. Bei C. Westermann findet man dies zweite Argument stärker als bei anderen Autoren überlieferungsgeschichtlich nuanciert, d. h. er argumentiert nur u. a. mit der Datierung literarischer Schichten, in erster Linie dagegen mit einer überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Rekonstruktion der Gen-Erzählungen, durch die die Verheißungstradition bis auf die Sohnesverheißung von Gen 18,1-16a überall entfällt, wo auch immer sie bezeugt ist⁽⁴⁾. Dabei stützt Westermann sich auf konkrete Herleitungen der beiden eingangs genannten Verheißungen, auf die noch eingegangen werden muß.

Während für die Ablehnung der Thesen A. Alt's durch Hoftijzer die Bestreitung der These vom "Gott der Väter" entscheidend war, hat sich durch Arbeiten von Westermann, H. H. Schmid, R. Rendtorff und J. van Seters der Problembereich der Verheißungen als relativ selbständig erwiesen. Die Frage nach dem "Gott des Vaters/der Vä-

H. H. SCHMID, *Der sogenannte Jahwist* (Zürich 1976) 119-153, 163; R. RENDTORFF, *Das überlieferungsgeschichtliche Problem des Pentateuch* (Berlin — New York 1977) 29-79; H. CHR. SCHMITT, *Die nichtpriesterliche Josephsgeschichte* (Berlin — New York 1980) 100-117.

(⁴) Das zeigt sich besonders drastisch in seinem Kommentar. Die systematische Vorstellung, von der WESTERMANN sich leiten läßt, entfaltet er schon früh: "Das Verhältnis des Jahweglaubens zu den außerisraelitischen Religionen", in: *Forschung am Alten Testament* (München 1964) 189-218. Breit ausgeführt: *Theologie des Alten Testaments in Grundzügen* (Göttingen 1978); vgl. dazu die präzise Kritik von R. SMEND, *ThLZ* 105 (1980) 824-827. Für Westermann ergibt sich als bestimmendes Bild, daß am Ursprung der Vätertradition nur Episoden einer halbnomadisch wandernden Familie mit menschlichen Ursituationen stehen können. Indem die Verheißungen nach seiner Meinung diesen Rahmen sprengen, haben sie per se ergänzenden Charakter.

ter" kann also hier unberücksichtigt bleiben. Wendet man sich nun dem Problemkreis der Verheißungen zu, ohne sich zugleich der radikalen, aber an den Erzählungen selbst nicht erhärteten These von Th. L. Thompson anzuschließen, daß die Väter-Erzählungen lediglich die Auffassungen der Zeit ihrer Quellen wiedergeben⁽⁵⁾, so begegnet man einem der gravierendsten Methodenprobleme gegenwärtiger alttestamentlicher Wissenschaft⁽⁶⁾: das ist die hochgradige Hypothetik der Abgrenzung und Datierung literarischer Schichten im Pentateuch, wenn man von der Ausnahme der Priesterschrift absieht⁽⁷⁾.

R. Smend⁽⁸⁾ hat hier treffend herausgestellt, daß die Anhänger der Hypothese des Elohisten mit einer Hypothese zweiten Grades (wegen Abzugs von P und dtn-dtr Elemente als Hypothesen ersten Grades) und die Anhänger der Hypothese des Jahwisten gar mit einer Hypothese dritten Grades (zusätzlicher Abzug von E und/oder von zahlreichen *diachronen* Erweiterungen) zu operieren haben. Nicht grundsätzlich anders stellt sich das Methodenproblem bei H. H. Schmid⁽⁹⁾ oder bei H.-Chr. Schmitt⁽¹⁰⁾ einerseits, bei R. Rend-

⁽⁵⁾ *The Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives* (Berlin — New York 1974). Mit SCHARBERT, "Patriarchentradition", 18-20, besteht der große Wert dieses Buches in der Widerlegung der Vorstellung vom Patriarchal Age und von angeblich für das 2. Jrtsd charakteristischen Traditionen, ähnlich auch VAN SETERS, *Abraham*, 5-122. Anders als van Seters hat Thompson jedoch die alttestamentliche Überlieferung nicht analysiert.

⁽⁶⁾ Vgl. dazu etwa O. KAISER, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Gütersloh 1978) 49-52, 85, 93-192.

⁽⁷⁾ Die Kritik R. RENDTORFFS, *Überlieferungsgeschichte* 117-142, an der P-Hypothese entspricht nicht der Überzeugungskraft der Hypothese, die RENDTORFF unterschätzt hat.

⁽⁸⁾ *Die Entstehung des Alten Testaments* (Stuttgart 1978) 86: "Die *Definition* der literarischen Größe J und damit natürlich die exakte Bestimmung der zu ihr gehörigen Texte ist nicht leicht. Am sichersten sagt man zunächst negativ: J ist in der vorpriesterschriftlichen Pentateucherzählung ungefähr das, was nicht redaktionell und was nicht elohistisch ist. Um J zu gewinnen, muß man also zunächst diese beiden Größen subtrahieren...". Die in der Fortsetzung enthaltene optimistische Einschätzung kann ich nicht teilen: "... fortschreitende Kenntnis der Redaktionsarbeit wird dabei in Zukunft größere Exaktheit ermöglichen".

⁽⁹⁾ Aus dem literarischen wird ein überlieferungsgeschichtliches Problem, dem eine sehr hypothetische, aber unbeugsame geistesgeschichtliche Vorstellung zugrundeliegt, vgl. H. SEEBASS, "Zur geistigen Welt des sog. Jahwisten", *Biblische Notizen* 4 (Bamberg 1977) 39-47.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Seine Vorstellung, daß E (6. Jh. v. Chr.) die erste Redaktion der Pen-

torff⁽¹¹⁾ und J. van Seters⁽¹²⁾ andererseits. Während bei allen überwiegend mit literarischen Argumenten arbeitenden Autoren die Hypothetik ihrer Beweismittel⁽¹³⁾ nirgendwo übersehen werden kann, haben Westermanns Urteile fast den Charakter des Feststehenden und lassen die Hypothetik ihrer Überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Rekonstruktion nicht immer mit hinreichender Deutlichkeit erkennen⁽¹⁴⁾. Einige Bemerkungen zu Westermanns Methoden müssen daher vorgezogen werden.

Westermann ging aus von einer Erläuterung der These, daß die Verheißungstraditionen bis auf die Sohnesverheißung von Gen 18,1-16a in keiner Erzählung wirklich fest verankert seien⁽¹⁵⁾. Inzwischen ist auch Gen 18,1-16a gefallen, weil van Seters hat beweisen können, daß diese Erzählung (wie fast alle Erzählungen der Genesis)⁽¹⁶⁾

tateuchstoffe darstellte und ein viel späterer Jahwist sie ergänzt habe, ist methodisch nicht weniger kompliziert als die klassische Quellentheorie.

⁽¹¹⁾ Die im Prinzip wertvollen Beobachtungen von RENDTORFF, *Überlieferungsgeschichte*, 29-79, 80-112, zu dem nicht gelungenen Nachweis des Zusammenhangs für die Quelle J haben m. E. bisher nur die Kompliziertheit der bisherigen Analyse erhöht. Seine Lösungsvorschläge leiden vor allem darunter, daß seine Abgrenzung traditionsgeschichtlicher Großbereiche nur selten überzeugen. So markieren z. B. weder 22,15-18 noch 46,1-5 Grenzen von Traditionsbereichen.

⁽¹²⁾ VAN SETERS, *Abraham*, 124ff, bietet eine schier unglaubliche Fülle von Anregungen und Beobachtungen; aber sie betreffen eher exegetische Details als die Exegese der Erzählungen, weil die Erzählungen durchweg an der Elle von Gen 12,10-20 gemessen wurden ("Olrik's laws"). So herrscht m. E. eine beträchtliche methodische Willkür, weil die Exegese nicht beim Befund, sondern bei einer *preconceived idea* ansetzt.

⁽¹³⁾ Freilich scheint mir bedenklich, daß viel zu oft vier bis sechs Belege über eine Datierung entscheiden sollen. Man überlege nur, wie groß die Fehlerquote bei nur einem jederzeit möglichen Fehlurteil wäre.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Dies gilt besonders für den Kommentar. Ein krasses Beispiel liefert die angebliche Nichtzugehörigkeit von 12,7 zu 12,6 (BKAT, I,13; Neukirchen [1978] 177-183). Ferner: was beweisen denkbare Itinerare über Wanderungen halbnomadischer Gruppen (S. 168-169) für die Ursprünglichkeit/Nichtursprünglichkeit von 12,6.8.9? Solche Urteile überraschen umso mehr, als Westermann treffend erkannt hat, daß 12,1-4 a nicht ohne 12,6-8 (m. E. auch nicht ohne 11,28-30) gelesen werden dürfen.

⁽¹⁵⁾ "Arten der Erzählung in der Genesis"; verfeinert: *Die Verheißungen*, 123 ff.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Für VAN SETERS, *Abraham*, 124 ff., ist 12,10-20 die große Ausnahme. Demgegenüber ernüchtert P. WEIMAR, *Untersuchungen zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Pentateuch* (Berlin — New York 1977) 5-55: der Übergang von

aus mehr als einem Motiv zusammengesetzt ist (mindestens: Theoxenie, Geburtsankündigung⁽¹⁷⁾; m. E. auch Sara-Isaak-Motiv). Angenommen, es wäre richtig, daß Verheißungen in keiner alten Erzählung fest verankert seien (dem ist m. E. zu widersprechen, s. u.): dann hat man in der Tat nur noch die Frage zu stellen, wie die Verheißungen haben zugefügt werden können, welches Motiv also für ihre Einfügung leitend war und welche Funktionen sie versehen. So hat Westermann die Verheißung großer Nachkommensmehrung (13,16; 15,5; 16,10; 22,17; 26,4.24; 28,14; 32,13) überzeugend mit der Segenshandlung Gen 48,17-19 in Verbindung gebracht und sie vom Motiv des Segens abgeleitet. Denn nach 48,19b sagte "Israel", seinen Segen auf die fernere Zukunft deutend: "Aber seine (Ephraims) Nachkommenschaft wird die Fülle der *gōjīm* sein"⁽¹⁸⁾.

Weil jedoch bei einer direkten Herleitung der Nachkommenverheißung aus dem Segen des Vaters eine Lücke klaffen würde zwischen dem Individuum Ephraim und der Fülle der Völker, suchte Westermann sie durch den angeblichen Hochzeitssegens Gen 24,60 zu schließen⁽¹⁹⁾. Daß es sich um einen Hochzeitssegens handeln soll, hat freilich schon H. Gunkel behauptet⁽²⁰⁾, der jedoch keine weitere Hypothese darauf hat bauen wollen. Tatsächlich scheint es mir absurd⁽²¹⁾, einer jungen Frau selbst im kinder-freudigen Alt-Israel anzu-

V. 17 zu V. 18 ist so schlecht erzählt, daß die Version kaum die älteste sein kann.

(17) VAN SETERS, *Abraham*, 209-216.

(18) "Arten der Erzählung", 19 ff. Zu euphorisch O. KAISER, "Altes Testament", 247 A. 23: Westermann habe die Nachkommenverheißung "als eine sekundäre Entwicklung aus dem älteren Segensmotiv zu erkennen gelehrt". Denn Westermann selbst hat die gleich zu nennende Lücke empfunden, s. A. 19. Ähnlich geht es mit der Berufung von H. H. SCHMID, *Jahwist*, 128 und A. 50 auf die These Westermann's, Gen 15,4.5 zeige noch, wie die Mehrungs-sich aus der Sohnesverheißung entwickelt habe. WESTERMANN, *Die Verheißungen*, 138-139, hat seine ältere These deutlich zurechtgerückt, s. u.

(19) *Die Verheißungen*, 141-143.

(20) *Genesis* (Göttingen 1964) 259: "Der Segensspruch bei der Eheschließung wie Rt 4,11 f; Tob 7,12... Der Wunsch für die Neuvermählte, daß sie viele Kinder bekomme, scheint dem überzarten modernen Geschlecht allzu derb; dem antiken schien es sehr natürlich, und die junge Frau hörte nichts lieber als dieses".

(21) Vgl. H. SEEBASS, *Geschichtliche Zeit und theonome Tradition in der Josephserzählung* (Gütersloh 1978) 72 A. 35. Die Absurdität springt in die Augen, wenn man bei WESTERMANN, *Die Verheißungen*, 242, Gen 24,60 zi-

wünschen, sie solle zu "Tausenden von Zehntausend" werden. Vielmehr hat der Spruch das spätere Volk Israel vor Augen und steht in unlöslichem Zusammenhang mit 24,67b MT: "Isaak getröstete sich (an Rebekka) nach seiner Mutter". Denn Gen 17,16b MT überliefert das Gotteswort, daß Sara durch Gottes Segen "zu *gōjīm* werden wird — Könige von *'ammīm* sollen aus ihr hervorgehen⁽²²⁾". Nach 24,67b war also Rebekka geeignet, die Lücke zu füllen, die der Tod der "Fürstin" Sara hinterlassen hatte, und dies würdigten bereits die Verwandten nach 24,60, als sie Rebekka in die neue Familie übereigneten (24,60-61a bilden eine nachpriesterliche Ergänzung zwischen V. 59.61b).

Daß in der Mehrungsverheißung die Vorstellung vom Segen Gottes mitschwingt, hat also Westermann zweifellos richtig hervorgehoben. Aber eine unmittelbare Herleitung ist damit keinesfalls bewiesen. Sie ist sachlich deswegen ganz unwahrscheinlich, weil die Idee des Segens viel mehr umfaßt als den Unterfall der Nachkommensvermehrung. So zeigt denn auch Gen 48,19b unmißverständlich, daß die *Vertauschung* des Segens zwischen Erst- und Nachgeborenem eines Deutewortes bedurfte, das eine ganz bestimmte Sonderwirkung des Segens an Ephraim prophetisch vorwegnahm. Zumindest dies wird man also sagen dürfen: Westermanns Herleitung ist so hypothetisch, daß derjenige, der sie immer noch für richtig hält, andere Gründe als die von Westermann vorgetragenen anführen müßte. Noch viel hypothetischer ist dann die Behauptung, die Verheißung der *Volk-Werdung* sei aus der Mehrungsverheißung abzuleiten und eine Nationalisierung des Segens (12,2; 21,13.18; 46,3; dtr: 18,18⁽²³⁾). Demgegenüber wird unten dargelegt, daß gerade die Verheißung der Volkwerdung zum Urgestein der Vätertradition gehören

tiert und auf S. 143 einen echten Hochzeitssegens findet: "Dein Weib wird dir sieben Söhne und acht Töchter gebären..." (Keret III 21-34). Auch Ruth 4,11 f; Tob 7,17 fallen nicht aus der Rolle!

⁽²²⁾ GUNKEL, *Genesis*, z. St., hat Derartiges nicht übersehen: "Die Worte sind sehr allgemein; der Erzähler weiß von Rebekka nur, daß sie eine Ahnfrau Israels ist...". Vgl. vor allem B. JACOB, *Das erste Buch der Tora* (New York 1974) 531: "Stammutter eines großen Volkes"; schon Raschi nach S. BAMBERGER, *Raschis Pentateuchkommentar* (Basel 1975) 65 und jetzt W. ZIMMERLI, *1. Mose 12-25. Abraham* (Zürich 1976) 124: "Im Segenswort der Angehörigen aber klingt die Gottesverheißung reicher Mehrung über Abraham (12,2; vgl. auch 15,5; 22,17; auch P: 17,2.6) an".

⁽²³⁾ Nachweis zuletzt bei H. CHR. SCHMITT, *Josephsgeschichte*, 102-104.

muß. Zur Landverheißung gibt Westermann keine Herleitung, die über Hofijzers Argumente hinausführte. Überwiegend folgt er hier literar- und überlieferungskritischen Argumenten, deren Hypothetik bereits erwähnt wurde⁽²⁴⁾. U. a. fußt seine Sicht aber auch auf einem (geheimnisvollen) Wissen um das, was unter den (halb-)nomadischen Verhältnissen der Väter an ursprünglicher Tradition möglich oder nicht möglich war, so daß die überlieferungsgeschichtliche Rekonstruktion des angeblichen Grundbestandes zwar mit größter Meisterschaft erfolgt, aber ohne über die Hypothetik solcher Thesen Rechenschaft abzulegen⁽²⁵⁾.

Eben dies führt zur Auseinandersetzung um die Hauptsache zurück: die Hypothetik der literarischen Schichtung und Datierung. Es müßte nämlich von größtem Wert sein, wenn es Argumente gäbe, die nicht der gleichen Hypothetik wie die der Zuweisung und Datierung von literarischen Schichten unterliegen. Solche Argumente dürfte es geben. Sie sind bloß als solche bisher nicht gewürdigt worden⁽²⁶⁾.

⁽²⁴⁾ *Die Verheißungen*, 134-135.

⁽²⁵⁾ Z. B. BKAT, I, 17, 550-560 zu Gen 28,10-22. Unzutreffend ist die angebliche Übereinstimmung von 28,11-12.17-18 mit 32,2-3, weil in Mahanajim keine Heiligtumsgründung erwähnt wird und der Lagerplatz zweier Heere von Gottesboten dazu auch keinen Anlaß bietet. Dazu bedarf es der Gotteserscheinung, die man aus der Betel-Tradition nicht streichen darf. Auch 35,1.7 (klassisch E) setzen sie voraus und 35,3 sogar ein Gotteswort. Schließlich läßt sich Bet Elohim (V. 17) nur auf den Ortsnamen Bet-El beziehen, wenn der Ort auch wirklich als der Els offenbar wurde.

⁽²⁶⁾ So zur Landverheißung H. SEEBASS, *Der Erzvater Israel* (Berlin — New York 1966) 23. WESTERMANN, *Die Verheißungen*, 134, erwähnt meine Exegese (und N. LOHFINK, *Landverheißung als Eid* [Stuttgart 1967], der Gen 15,7-21 als Grundstelle der Landverheißung ansah; s. dazu u.); aber auf die konkreten Argumente ist er nicht eingegangen, sondern argumentiert ausschließlich mit literarischen Überlegungen. Zustimmend dagegen (mit gründlicher Besprechung) A. DE PURY, *Promesse divine et Légende culturelle dans le Cycle de Jacob I* (Paris 1975) 167-207, 334; L. SCHMIDT, "Überlegungen zum Jahwisten", *EvTh* 37 (1977) 230-247 (243), vgl. auch G. SCHMITT, *Du sollst keinen Frieden schließen mit den Bewohnern des Landes* (Stuttgart 1970) 108. Unkonkret wie Westermann setzt sich H. H. SCHMID, *Jahwist*, 120-121 mit de Pury auseinander, indem er nur auf dessen These eingeht, daß es in der Vätertradition bereits geschlossene Zyklen wie den Betel-Zyklus als vor-quellenhaftes Gut gegeben haben könne. Als könne der emendierte Text von Hos 12,5.7 etwas beweisen, behauptet Schmid zudem, dort sei nur Gen 28,15 vorausgesetzt; Hos 12 "kenne" Gen 28,13-14 nicht — ein wunderschönes

1) *Gen 28,13 f.* Nach V. 13 b wird Jakob nur "das Land, auf dem du gerade liegst", zum (zukünftigen) Besitz gegeben. In V. 14 aa wird dazu die Nachkommenverheißung ergänzt. Über die schon genannten Nachkommen hinweg (!) heißt es dann in V. 14 ab: "Und du wirst dich ausbreiten (*pāraš*) nach W und O, nach N und S, und Segen wünschen sollen sich in dir alle Sippen des Ackerbodens".

Der Wortlaut von V. 13 b betrifft nur Jakob. Das Gleiche gilt von V. 14 b (Segenswünsche durch Jakob). Dagegen dürfte das Subjekt von V. 14 ab nicht mehr das Individuum Jakob, sondern Jakob als Repräsentanten der Seinen meinen: nicht er selbst, sondern er als *corporate personality* wird sich ausbreiten. Wie das zu denken ist, gab V. 14 aa vor: die Nachkommenschaft soll wie der Staub der Erde werden. Weil dem Stamm Ephraim in *Gen 48,19b* ganz ähnlich Übertreibendes gesagt wird, ist es nicht überflüssig, sich die Ausbreitung in geographische Vorstellungen zu übersetzen. Denn im N würde eine Ausbreitung spätestens an der Jesreel-Ebene, im S an der Linie Jerusalem-Gibeon, im W an der Küsten-Ebene und im O am W-Abfall des ostjordanischen Gebirges ihre Grenze finden. Nur der Kontext mit anderen Landverheißungen (12,7; 13,15; 15,7.18; 24,7; 26,3.4) und unter ihnen speziell mit 15,18 (Grenzangabe!) läßt hier das gesamte Gebiet Kanaans eintragen. Aber V. 14 ab sind ja bereits Erweiterungen von V. 13 b, in dem nur das zum Heiligtum von Betel gehörende Land Jakob zu eigen gegeben wird.

Betel liegt ganz eingekeilt in die Hügellandschaft des südsamari-schen Gebirges. Seine Lage ist alles andere als zentral, sein Gebiet kann nur sehr klein gewesen sein. Aus welchen Interessen heraus hätte man also eine solche Zusage wie die von *Gen 28,13b* erfinden sollen? Bestimmt nicht aus der Zeit, zu der der Verlust des Staatsterritoriums drohte! Bestimmt auch nicht aus der Zeit der Erhebung Betels zum Reichsheiligtum durch Jerobeam I, weil Betels Reichweite offenbar Galiläa nicht erfaßte (ein goldenes Jungstierbild für Dan!)! Eine solche Tradition gibt nur Sinn als Urgestein, Uranfang, der weiterwirkte. Ihrem Selbstverständnis nach bezeugt sie nichts als die Nutzung des Territoriums von Betel durch nichtseßhafte Elemen-

argumentum e silentio ohne Beweiskraft. Leider benutzen in großem Stile Hos 12,5-7 auch H. BARTH/O. H. STECK, *Exegese des Alten Testaments* (Neukirchen 1978) 127 ff; E. OTTO, "Jakob in Betel", *ZAW* 88 (1976) 165-190 (179-182; sonst sehr verdienstvoll). Dagegen SCHMITT, *Josephsgeschichte*, 107 A. 48.

te, die in dem typischen Durchgangsland Kanaan wanderten und auf Betel als ihr Heiligtum gestoßen waren.

Eine solche These hat methodisch offenbar eine viel sicherere Basis als die der Quellenschichten (abgesehen von P, die hier nicht vorliegt). Es kann daher auch nicht angehen, etwa subsidiär damit zu argumentieren, daß nach einer relativ immer noch gut begründeten Meinung in Gen 28,13-16 die vermutlich älteste Pentateuchschicht, der sog. Jahwist, vorliegen soll. Vielmehr kann man nur umgekehrt vorgehen: in dem Hypothesenwirrwarr zur literarischen Schichtung des Pentateuch verleiht die Tatsache, daß in Gen 28,13 b.14 b mit methodisch relativ großer Sicherheit eine alte Tradition vorliegt, jener Hypothese vom Jahwisten (neben ähnlichen, weiteren Belegen) Plausibilität⁽²⁷⁾.

⁽²⁷⁾ Gegenüber meiner früheren Exegese (A. 26) meine ich jetzt, 28,14 b nicht mehr mit den beiden vorhergehenden Zusätzen in V. 14 a zusammennehmen zu sollen. Neben den o. mitgeteilten literarischen Gründen spricht für das hohe Alter von 28,14 b, a) daß ein solches Segenswort für den Mann, der die Berührung von Himmel und Erde, der die Stätte des Palastes Elohims auf der Erde entdeckte, ganz überzeugend wirkt ('*ādāmāh* heißt hier gewiß Ackerland), b) daß eben dies Motiv zusammen mit der Verheißung V. 13 b zureichend erklärt, warum ein gewiß älterer kanaänischer Mythos zu einer Vater-Erzählung verwandelt worden ist, c) daß V. 14 b in Verbindung mit V. 13 b die weitere Entwicklung der Landverheißung voll und ganz durchsichtig macht. – Wie SCHMITT, *Josephsgeschichte*, 81-89 bin ich der Meinung, daß Gen 39 sehr spät entstanden und in den Israel-Josef-Roman eingefügt worden ist, vgl. *Geschichtliche Zeit*, 21 A. 16; 37-38. Daß man aber 12,3 b bemühen müsse, um 39,2-6 (Segen für Potiphar wegen Josef) zu erklären, leuchtet nicht ein – die Erzählung ist in sich plausibel (gegen SCHMITT, *Josephsgeschichte*, 86 f; H. W. WOLFF, "Das Kerygma des Jahwisten", in: *Ges. Studien* [München 1965] 351 sah in Gen 39 eine Veranschaulichung von Gen 12,3 b, mehr nicht!). Umso weniger kann ich SCHMITT, 100-103, zustimmen, daß 12,3 b; 18,18; 22,18; 26,4; 28,14 als gleichartig zu lesen seien und die übliche J-Zuweisung von 12,3 b; 28,14 b falsch sein soll. SCHMITT, 105-106 A. 60 hat das Gewicht von 28,13 b dadurch zu mindern gesucht, daß er es mit 13,14-16 einer gleichartigen Redaktion zuschob. Aber um den Wortlaut beider Stellen hat er sich nicht bemüht. Geht man mit 13,14 davon aus, was man von Betel aus sehen kann, so lautet die Antwort: ein wenig von Ephraim und im wesentlichen Benjamin – sonst nichts! Dies scheint 13,14-16 durchaus nicht zu meinen. Es denkt an die Nichtsichtbarkeit von Grenzen, wie sie V. 16 durch die Nichtzählbarkeit der Nachkommen verdeutlicht. Die Spezialität von 28,13 b wird also absichtlich ins Allgemeine, Unbestimmbare aufgelöst – eine schiere Bestätigung der Ursprünglichkeit von 28,13 b. – In eine ganz

So bestätigt Gen 28,13b.14b die wohlbekannte Vermutung Alts, daß die Landverheißung ihrem Ursprung nach am ehesten in den Übergang zum sedentären Stadium gehört. Nur muß man sich von der Vorstellung freimachen, daß hier ein Modell für die Einwanderung der Israeliten nach Palästina vorliegt. Nichtseßhafte Elemente konnte es auf dem samarischen Gebirge in der Amarna-Zeit ebenso wie früher oder später geben, ohne daß man über ihre Herkunft etwas wüßte, und wie sie ihre Wanderungen ausdehnten, läßt sich ebenso wenig exakt bestimmen. Aber das ist für das Verständnis von Gen 28,13b.14b nicht ausschlaggebend.

2) *Gen 21,18/16,10*. Auf den ersten Blick sieht es so aus, daß in diesem Fall ein sicheres Ergebnis nicht erzielt werden kann. Aber eine solche Einschätzung würde auf einer Exegese von 21,6.8-21 beruhen, die, von H. Gunkel angeleitet⁽²⁸⁾, zu einer gegenüber 16,1b-2.4-14 eigenständigen Würdigung nicht gefunden hat. Gegen Gunkel und seine Nachfolger⁽²⁹⁾ muß scharf herausgestellt werden, daß Gen 21 nicht von einer Rettung aus der Not der Wüste handelt und der Name des Wüstenbrunnens, der Wasser spendet, wegen des Erzählungszieles (s. u.) ganz sachgemäß fehlt. Als nämlich Hagar (so Gen 21) meinte, daß ihr und ihres Sohnes letztes Stündlein gekommen sei, wurde sie nicht an einen Brunnen, sondern an ihren *Sohn* verwiesen. Der Bote Gottes sagte ihr vom Himmel her: "Gott hörte auf die Stimme des Knaben, *dort wo er ist!*" Kein Verlegenheitsstil tut sich da kund. Vielmehr gebot der Bote Hagar, hinzugehen und ihre "Hand stark zu machen" an dem Knaben, weil Gott *ihn* zum großen *gōj* machen werde. Indem sie sich zum Sohn begab, bemerkte sie die Wasserquelle, die längst da war (V. 19) — sie hatte nur zu

neue Hypothesen würden Vermutungen führen, die die Betel-Tradition der Gen mit dem Königsheiligtum (Am 3,14; 4,4; 5,5; 7,10.13; Hos 4,15; 5,8; 10,5) in Verbindung zu bringen suchen. Ich darf daran erinnern, daß mir eine Beziehung von Gen 35,1-5.10.14.7-8 zum Königsheiligtum Betel nie zweifelhaft war, vgl. BZAW 98, 24 A. 61: Betel wurde von Sichem aus als Heiligtum *Israels* legitimiert. Im einzelnen aber kann ich auf Hypothesen solcher Art hier nicht eingehen, da sie schwerlich unmittelbar für die Verheißungstradition Relevanz haben. Speziell zu Hos 12,5 (s. auch o. A. 26) läßt sich bemerken, daß Jakob dort, wie immer man den Text herstellt, Ganz-Israel repräsentiert und nicht wie in Gen 28 auf Betel begrenzt gedacht werden kann.

⁽²⁸⁾ *Genesis*, 228-233 (ab: V. 11-13).

⁽²⁹⁾ Bis hin zu ZIMMERLI, *Abraham*, 60-65, 100-104.

früh aufgegeben, nach einer solchen zu suchen, und mußte es erst lernen, mit der Wüste, dem künftigen Wohnsitz ihres Sohnes, sich vertraut zu machen. Denn Brunnen im Negeb von Beerseba gibt es viele. Vielmehr lautet das Erzählungsziel (V. 20 a): "Und Gott war mit dem Knaben, und so wurde er groß".

Wie in 16,1b-2.4-14 gehören Abraham und Sara in 21,6.8-21 nicht (zu den Hauptpersonen bzw.), in die Durchführung der Erzählung, sondern nur in die diese vorbereitende Verwicklung⁽³⁰⁾. Diese fällt je ganz verschieden aus, weil Gen 16 eine Hagar- und Gen 21 eine Ismael-Erzählung enthält⁽³¹⁾. Die Verwicklung von Gen 21 ist eine der prophetischen Existenz Abrahams (20, 7). Gott selbst nimmt nämlich Saras Forderung auf, die Magd und ihren Sohn zu vertreiben, weil er von Abraham das prophetische Risiko fordert, gegen alle praktische Vernunft, die bei hoher Sterblichkeit der Jugend bestrebt ist, möglichst viele potentielle Erben zu haben (V. 10 b)⁽³²⁾, sich nur auf einen einzigen Erben einzulassen. Ganz soll er sich dem Gotteswort anheimgeben, daß seine Nachkommenschaft ausschließlich aus

⁽³⁰⁾ Es ist ein Mangel der Exegesen G. v. RADS, *Das erste Buch Mose* (ATD 3; Göttingen 1952) 165 f und ZIMMERLI, *Abraham*, 60-65, Gen 16 als ein Abraham-Sara-Drama zu deuten. Das vorhergehende Gen 15 erzwingt (so ZIMMERLI, 65) eine solche Annahme durchaus nicht. Saras Versuch, ein Kind durch eine ihrer Mägde zu gewinnen, war nicht nur legitim, sondern auch Anlaß für die Berufung eines großen Volkes, der Ismaeliten. Der Vorwurf, Sara und Abraham hätten eine Fehlentscheidung getroffen, indem sie selbst für ein Kind zu sorgen versuchten, stützt sich nicht auf den Text.

⁽³¹⁾ Umso mehr ist bekanntlich aufgefallen, daß der Name Ismaels in Gen 21 nicht fällt. Wie zuletzt ZIMMERLI, *Abraham*, 101, richtig gesehen hat, fehlt jedoch Gen 21,6.8-21 die durch 21,1b-5(7?) P verdrängte Exposition, die notizenhaft die Geburten Ismaels und Isaaks erzählt haben muß.

⁽³²⁾ Scharfsinnig hat VAN SETERS, *Abraham*, 197, eingewandt, daß der Sohn einer Sklavin nach dem Erbrecht nicht zusammen mit dem Sohn der Hauptfrau erbte. Sein Schluß, daß nur die in Gen 16 gewählte Rechtskonstruktion Ismael erbberechtigt mache und deshalb Gen 21 von Gen 16 abhängig sei, trifft jedoch nicht zu. Es ist eben nicht nur rührend väterlich (so die übliche Exegese), sondern interessenbedingt, daß Abraham Saras Forderung mißfiel (V. 11 b), weil es bei hoher Sterblichkeit widersinnig war, einen potentiellen Erben wegzujagen, bevor der Haupterbe Nachkommen gezeugt und geerbt hatte. Es fällt auf, daß Abraham im Unterschied zu 25,6 Hagar nicht einmal abfindende Geschenke mitgab und Ismael so nicht den geringsten Anteil am Erbe erhielt. Indem Gott Saras Forderung aufgriff, konnte er Abraham an diesem Punkt beruhigen: er wollte selbst für Ismael sorgen (V. 13).

den Nachkommen des Sara-Sohnes berufen werden soll (V. 12 b)⁽³³⁾ — auch unter Isaaks Nachkommen wird es also eine Scheidung geben, wie die zwischen Isaak und Ismael. Ismael wird zwar in der Wüste erhört, weil Gott ihn zum großen Volk machen will; aber dessen Bogenschützendasein (V. 20 b) muß man von der besonderen prophetischen Existenz Abrahams und von seiner erneut besonderen Nachkommenschaft durchaus unterscheiden lernen.

Weil Abraham als guter, vernünftiger Vater an seinem Sohne hängt (V. 11 b), wird ihm als Propheten und nur ihm — weder Sara noch Hagar hat er etwas auszurichten! — Ismaels Zukunft angesagt: „Auch den Sohn der Magd mache ich zu einem *gōj*; denn er bildet deine Nachkommenschaft“. Die Nichtberücksichtigung Ismaels für Israels prophetische Existenz — der aus Isaak Berufene wird Israel heißen (35,10 E) — soll also Ismael nicht zum Schaden gereichen. Vielmehr wird Gott auch Ismael in Ehren halten⁽³⁴⁾, ihn aber von der Sonderexistenz Israels trennen. Diese *Verwicklung* macht deutlich, daß alles auf das Gotteswort an Hagar und Ismael ankommt und alle Hoffnung Hagers an ihrem Sohn festgemacht wird (V. 16-18). Soweit Exegese und nicht Hypothese!

Sachlich setzt daher 21,13 das entscheidende Gotteswort 21,18 voraus. Die traditionsgeschichtliche Ursprünglichkeit von 21,18 beweist ein Blick auf Gen 16; denn in Gen 16 ist die Mehrungsverheißung (V. 10), das Äquivalent zu 21,18, ganz unentbehrlich, weil Hagar allein an ihr (auf keinen Fall an den Worten von V. 11-12!) *zweifelsfrei* erkennen kann, daß „der mit ihr Redende“ Jahwe selbst ist, den sie „El Roi“ benennt (V. 13)⁽³⁵⁾. Zudem gehört die Verhei-

⁽³³⁾ VAN SETERS, *Abraham*, 201 findet hier (mit vielen Vorgängern) die Sprache Deuterocesajas und erwähnt Jes 41,8-9. Eine Überprüfung *aller* Belege widerlegt das. Bei Deuterocesaja findet sich nie das nif. von *qārā'*, sondern immer nur das qal und stets mit Jahwe als Subjekt, während Gen 21,12 b kein Subjekt nennt. van Seters hat übersehen, daß 21,12 b nicht eine allgemeine Erwählungsaussage enthält, sondern ganz präzise eine erneute Unterscheidung bei Isaaks Nachkommen ankündigt: Israel und nicht Esau wird der Berufene sein. D. h. 21,12 b hält fest, daß Ismaels Vertreibung kein Einzelfall bleibt, sondern Abrahams prophetische Existenz eine besondere Auswahl der Erben verlangt.

⁽³⁴⁾ So auch ZIMMERLI, *Abraham*, 102.

⁽³⁵⁾ Dies wird leider durchweg verkannt, bis hin zu ZIMMERLI, *Abraham*, 64. Dabei enthält V. 10 fast das Originellste der ganzen Erzählung, nämlich die durchaus verblüffende „Erwählung“ der so widerborstigen *Hagar*. Denn

Bung zu den wenigen, beiden Erzählungen gemeinsamen Elementen, die damit Tradition und nicht Interpretation sind:

- Konflikt Abraham-Sara
- Wanderung Hagers im Negeb
- die Erhörung des Gottes Israels
- die Ismael zum Volk bestimmende Verheißung
- der Brunnen im Negeb
- die wilde Zukunft der Ismaeliten.

Sondergut in J sind demgegenüber die Unbändigkeit Hagers, das Geburtsorakel, der Stammesspruch, der Gottesname und der Name des Wüstenbrunnens; Sondergut in E das Fest der Entwöhnung Isaaks, die Weisung Gottes zur Vertreibung Hagers und Isaaks ohne jede Gabe sowie die Betonung der besonderen Existenz Abrahams, Isaaks und ihrer Nachkommenschaft.

Die Verheißung ist so fest in der Gen 16 und Gen 21 vorgegebenen Tradition verankert, daß diese eine Verheißungstradition genannt werden muß. Daran kann auch das Motiv 21,13 nichts wesentliches ändern, das zum E-Sondergut gehört. Wollte man ihm mehr Gewicht einräumen als das der Veranschaulichung prophetischer Existenz, so bliebe die Tatsache, daß von allen Nachkommen Abrahams nur Ismael einer erwähnenden Verheißung gewürdigt wird, also weder der mit Jakob/Israel gleichgebürtige Esau noch die Ketura-Söhne (25,1-4) noch die "Ostleute" als Söhne nicht namentlich genannter Nebenfrauen Abrahams (25,5-6). Auch hier bewahrheitet sich Alt's bekannte Vermutung, daß die Verheißung dem nichtsedentären Stadium zugehört. Nur soll es sich nach der Tradition um ein Dasein handeln, das sich aus einem stärker sedentären Stadium entwickelte. Gen 16,14; 24,62a; 25,11b bewahren dazu die Erinnerung, daß Ismael und Isaak einmal gemeinsam den Beer Lachaj Roi zum Heiligtum hatten, das weit draußen im Negeb, auf dem Weg zwischen Kades (wohl *'ēn el-qdērāt*, ca. 80 km ssw von Beerseba) und Ägypten gelegen hat. Diese Notizen sind so konkret und über jeden Verdacht sekundärer Entstehung erhaben, daß man sie zum

das Jahwewort sagt, daß Jahwe *ihren* Nachkommen zahlreich machen wolle. Daran erst knüpft V. 11 an: für den Nachkommen folgt ein Geburtsorakel, welches dem Sohn der in ihrer "Bedrückung" Erhörten (V. 11 b) ein dem Charakter seiner Mutter entsprechendes Volksmerkmal ansagt (V. 12: allen seinen Brüdern ins Angesicht) und mit dem Ismael-Namen verbindet. So gehören auch V. 10 und V. 12 zusammen.

Ausgangspunkt traditionsgeschichtlicher Überlegungen machen sollte. Ist es dann noch plausibel, daß die Verheißung zahlreicher Nachkommen bzw. der Volkwerdung Ismaels aus der Zeit der nationalen Not *Israels* stammt? Wohl nicht. Vielmehr spricht alle Wahrscheinlichkeit dafür, daß der Weg der Verheißung umgekehrt von Ismael zu Isaak verlaufen ist⁽³⁶⁾.

Das macht auf die fast durchweg unterschätzte Erzählung Gen 46,1-5 a aufmerksam. In ihr findet man ein Motiv (V. 4 a), das der gegenwärtigen Systematik des Pentateuch gründlich widerspricht. Gott sagt dort dem Israel/Jakob nicht nur zu, daß er mit ihm nach Ägypten hinabsteigen, sondern mit besonderer Betonung (inf. abs.) auch, daß er ihn wieder aus Ägypten hinaufführen werde. Um die Systematik des Pentateuch sicherzustellen, ist jenem Wort in V. 4 b ein Kommentar beigegeben: "Josef aber, er wird seine Hand auf deine Augen legen". Dieser Kommentar suggeriert, daß Jakob/Israel bei Josef, in Ägypten, sterben und nur als Toter zurückgeführt werden soll; aber er macht die Fremdartigkeit von Gen 46,4a im jetzigen Kontext erst recht deutlich und bezeichnend⁽³⁷⁾. Zu diesem so frem-

⁽³⁶⁾ Die Tradition 25,13-16.18 (vgl. dazu jetzt WESTERMANN, BKAT I, 17, 483, 486-488), die wohl zu J gehört, erläutert 16,10 sehr überzeugend: die weit verstreut anzutreffenden, wahrscheinlich arabischen Stämme waren das Urbild von Nachkommen, die "an Menge nicht gezählt werden können". Da 13,16; 15,5; 22,17; 26,4.24 b β. γ; 28,14 a α; 32,13 wohl allesamt nicht zu J zu zählen sind (s. u. A. 42), ist 16,10 die einzige Bezeugung der Nachkommenverheißung bei J (neben 12,2 Volkwerdung). Damit bekommt 25,13-16.18 Signifikanz für das Verständnis von 16,10, umso mehr als 25,18 b bekanntlich 16,12 in Erinnerung ruft. Da 16,14 den formvollendeten Schluß der Hagar-Erzählung bildet, scheint es mir richtiger, hier einen Querverweis in J zu finden, als 25,18 für den ursprünglichen Schluß der Tradition von Gen 16 zu halten (so zuletzt ZIMMERLI, *Abraham*, 64-65). Wenn aber Nachkommen- und Volkverheißung in J so unterschiedlich angewandt werden, haben sie wahrscheinlich auch einen in Nuancen unterschiedenen Sinn.

⁽³⁷⁾ Die Möglichkeit, daß V. 4 b redaktionell sei, schloß jüngst H. DONNER, *Die literarische Gestalt der alttestamentlichen Josephsgeschichte* (Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften 1976) 30 nachdrücklich aus; aber V. 4 b hat mit dem vorhergehenden Heilsorakel thematisch nichts zu tun — es hat zudem eine vollendete Form, s. u. Ferner hält DONNER, 29, Gen 46,1aβ-5a für einen Zusatz, weil V. 5 a unmittelbar an V. 1 aα anschliesse und jenes Element im Kontext sichtlich ein Fremdkörper sei. Die gründliche Besprechung von SCHMITT, *Josephsgeschichte*, 57-62, nimmt dies Argument auf; aber stimmt es? In V. 1 liegt die Initiative ganz beim Vater, in V. 5 b ganz bei den Söhnen Israels. Dann ist die Untergliederung von V. 1

dartigen Gotteswort gehört als Heilsorakel die Verheißung, daß Gott den Vater dort (in Ägypten) zu einem großen Volk machen wolle (V. 3).

Eine *mögliche* Hypothese besagt, daß Gen 46,3b einen lediglich literarisch entstandenen Übergang von der Väter- zur Exodus-Tradition schafft — so die übliche Annahme. Aber eine ebenso *mögliche* Hypothese besagt, daß es Traditionen gegeben haben muß, die die beiderseitig einander fremden Stoffe erst aufeinander hat beziehen lassen, und daß Gen 46,1-4a.5a entscheidend zum Zusammenwachsen der beiden Traditionsbereiche beigetragen hat. Eine Spur ihrer Originalität ergibt sich noch daraus, daß sie eine Form des Israel-Josef-Romans voraussetzt, nach der die Israel-Söhne zwar unter der Leitung ihres Vaters nach Ägypten zogen, aber dort blieben (und zahlreich wurden), während der Vater allein ins verheißene Land zurückkehrte. Wie 48,1f zeigt, entspricht dem der E-Anteil an Gen 48 (V. 1f.8-9a.10b-12.15.21f) mit seiner dort überall spürbaren palästinischen Situation vorzüglich, und es erklärt sich nun auch die relativ befremdliche Stellung von Gen 46,1-5a; 48,1-22 in der es umgebenden Novellistik, in der alles auf die Zusammenführung des Vaters mit Josef und die damit mögliche Vergabe des Erbes durch den Vater hinausläuft. Gen 46,1-4a.5a und die Grunderzählung von Gen 48 sind die Reste einer von der Endredaktion abweichenden Darstellung, die eben deswegen der Isolation gegenüber dem Kontext unterliegt⁽³⁸⁾.

Eine methodisch gleiche Sicherheit wie bei der Ismael-Tradition kann man für das hohe Alter von Gen 46,1-4a.5a⁽³⁹⁾ nicht gewinnen.

ganz künstlich und der Anschluß von V. 5 b an V. 1 aα sehr hypothetisch, vgl. SEEBASS, *Geschichtliche Zeit*, 88 A. 40.

⁽³⁸⁾ Zu Gen 48 vgl. SEEBASS, *Geschichtliche Zeit*, 65-72; relativ ähnlich SCHMITT, *Josephsgeschichte*, 66-73. Die Gen 48 umgebende Novellistik ist ganz die des J (47,1-5a LXX.12.27a.29-31; 50,1-7a.8f.10b-11.14). Selbst wenn man der Quellenscheidung nicht folgen mag, bedürfte es eines besonderen Beweises, daß die Traditionen von Gen 46,1-5a; 48,1f.8-22 jünger sind als die sie umgebende Novellistik.

⁽³⁹⁾ 46,1-4a.5a kann nicht auf 26,2 bezogen werden, da jede literarische Verbindungsspur fehlt (gegen GUNKEL, *Genesis*, 462). Vielmehr denken beide Traditionen unabhängig voneinander an die latente Neigung von Negeb-Bewohnern, im Fall von Hungersnöten Ägypten aufzusuchen: 26,2 mit Ablehnung, 46,1-4a.5a mit besonderer Befürwortung. Dagegen enthält 26,1aβ.γ einen Rückverweis zu 12,9-13,1.3-4, einem eher nachjahwistischen als jahwisti-

Die Ismael-Tradition einerseits und der Zusammenhang mit 48,1f.8-9a.10b-12.15f.21f andererseits nötigen jedoch dazu, die Überlieferungsverhältnisse zu überdenken. Gen 46,1-4a.5a hat 12,1-4a zur nächsten Analogie, freilich in Form eines Heilsorakels an einem vom Vater aufgesuchten Heiligtum.

| | |
|---|---|
| Fürchte dich nicht nach Ägypten hinabzusteigen denn dort will ich dich zum großen Volk machen Ich gehe hinab mit dir... und bestimmt führe ich dich hinauf Da brach Jakob auf... | Geh aus dem Land... in ein Land, das ich dir zeige Ich wer- de dich zu einem großen Volk machen Ich werde dich seg- nen... Und Abraham ging... |
|---|---|

Dazu kommt die verblüffende Übereinstimmung mit Dtn 26,5b, wo gegen alle Tradition eine Wanderung des Vaters im Lande Kanaan ganz fehlt⁽⁴⁰⁾:

Ein zugrunde gehender Aramäer war mein Vater, so daß er nach Ägypten hinabstieg und dort zu einem großen (zahlreichen und starken) Volk wurde.

Dann gibt es hinreichende Gründe anzunehmen, daß 46,1-4a.5a eine Tradition wiedergibt, nach der ein Isaak-Erbe einst in Ägypten war und dort eine Anhängerschaft fand, die seinem Heiligtum von Beerseba Bedeutung verlieh.

3) Wenn daher die Landverheißung mit Gen 28,13b.14b und die Volks- oder Mehrungsverheißung mit Gen 16,10; 21,18 (46,3) Urgestein der Vätertradition gebildet haben, scheint mir die übliche, J. Wellhausen und M. Noth im wesentlichen folgende Quellenzuweisung an Überzeugungskraft zu gewinnen⁽⁴¹⁾. Nach ihr waren die

schen Einschub, mit dem zusammen auch 26,1aβ.γ.3ba.4b (3bβ-4a.5 dtr) zur Tradition von Gen 26 hinzugekommen sein dürften. — 26,1aα.2.6-14.16f.19-24ba.25-33 bilden eine große Einheit: Ansiedlung sollte Isaak weder in der Unfreiheit Ägyptens noch im Lande der Philister, sondern auf dem eigenen Boden von Beerseba finden!

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Auch wenn Dt 26,6-9 durch und durch dtn-dtr formuliert sind (W. RICHTER, FS M. SCHMAUS, "Wahrheit und Verkündigung" [1967] 175-212), gilt dies nicht für V. 5 b, der immer noch als höchst originell beurteilt werden muß. Er behält seinen Wert und gibt dem Ritual einen alten Kern.

⁽⁴¹⁾ Zur Verbesserung der klassischen Wellhausen'schen Quellentheorie mittels einer strengen Fassung des Elohisten durch M. Noth vgl. R. SMEND, *Die Entstehung*, 84.

Landverheißung mindestens durch 12,7; 28,13 J und die Volks-/Mehrungsverheißung mindestens durch 12,2; 16,10 J; 21,13.18; 46,3 E in den sog. alten Quellen vertreten⁽⁴²⁾. Dann scheint es geboten, eine weitere Tradition unter methodischem Aspekt zu diskutieren, die als ganz besonders umstritten gelten darf. Es handelt sich um eine in Gen 15 enthaltene Tradition.

Keinen Streit kann es darüber geben, daß die dtn-dtr Bewegung eine traditionalistische, auf vermeintlich oder tatsächlich ältere Traditionen sich berufende Bewegung gewesen ist. N. Lohfink hat über jeden Zweifel erhoben, daß die bekannte dtn-dtr. Formel vom Eidschwur an die Väter, ihnen das Land zu geben, ihrem Selbstbewußtsein nach ebenfalls traditionalistisch ist und auf Gen 15 rekurriert⁽⁴³⁾. M. E. hat die methodisch angemessene Frage dann zu lauten, ob es *rationes sufficientes* gibt, das Selbstbewußtsein jener Formel zu bestreiten und Gen 15 als Teil oder als Prototyp jener Bewegung zu erklären.

Wenn man versuchsweise von Gen 15,9-12aα.b.17f als Tradition ausgeht, ist die Frage m. E. immer noch offen. Dies zeigt sich in Auseinandersetzung mit der besonders soliden Beweisführung von L. Perlitt, die für eine proto-dtn (elohistische?) Entstehung plädierte⁽⁴⁴⁾. Perlitt geht eben von jener Tradition und dem durch sie beschriebenen Ritus aus. Da dieser im Alten Testament nur noch Jer 34,18f, also in dtn-dtr Zeit, belegt sei und die dort vorliegende Erklärung des Ritus durch die bisher bekannten altorientalischen Analogien bestätigt werde (Vergleichbarkeit des Geschicks von Tier und Schwörenden), erweise sich der Kern der Tradition als frühestens proto-dtn. Dagegen bleibt jedoch einzuwenden, daß bei genauer Prüfung des gesamten, bei Perlitt angeführten Materials nur *eine* wirklich ganz nahe Analogie verbleibt, die Jer 34,18f tatsächlich entspricht⁽⁴⁵⁾. Jer 34,18f zeigt jedoch mit seiner Erklärung des Ritus

⁽⁴²⁾ Ich habe also die stark umstrittenen Texte weggelassen: 13,14-16.17; 15,1-21; 18,17-19; 22,15-18; 26,3-5.24bβ.γ; 28,14aα; 32,13. Zu 18,17-19 s. A. 23; zu 15,1-21 s. A. 48; zu 13,14-17 s. A. 49; zu 32,13 als Zusatz zu 32, *10-12 vgl. OTTO, *ZAW* 88, 184 f.

⁽⁴³⁾ *Landverheißung als Eid* (1967).

⁽⁴⁴⁾ *Bundestheologie im Alten Testament* (Neukirchen 1969) 64-77. Eingangs erklärt auch Perlitt, ohne Lohfink zu kennen, daß die dtn-dtr Formel vom Eidschwur zu Gen 15 führt.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ PERLITT, *Bundestheologie*, 73 f. Die Parallele selbst S. 73 A. 6 (Sfire I A): "Vertrag zwischen den Königen Bar-ga'ja von KTK und Mati'el von

eine typisch dtn Haltung: es hat den Ritus rationalisiert, indem es ihn als Androhung einer Zerstückelung für jeden Berit-Brüchigen interpretiert. Dann liegt es viel näher, in Jer 34,18f eine junge, durch einen verwandten aramäischen Vertragsritus (s. bei A. 45) beeinflusste Form eines archaischen Ritus zu sehen, als daß man für Gen 15 eine ganz hypothetische, sekundäre Übertragung eines auf Todesandrohung hinauslaufenden Ritus von Menschen auf den Gott Israels postuliert, die nach Perlitt "das israelitische Gottesbild fast überfordert" (46).

Gar nicht überzeugend scheint mir jedenfalls das Hilfsargument, die Liste der in Gen 15,9 genannten Opfertiere zeige ein spätes priesterliches Interesse, zumal die altorientalischen Analogien immer nur ein Tier erwähnten (47). Da wir nämlich für den Ritus keine ganz sicheren Parallelen haben, zeichnet uns an dieser wie an anderen Stellen des Alten Testaments eine nicht beseitigte Unkenntnis aus, die der Überlieferung zunächst ihre Eigentümlichkeit belassen muß. Wenn nun V. 9 keine *Anweisung* für das enthält, was Abraham mit den Tieren zu tun hatte, dürfte die Aufzählung der Tiere für Abraham den Hinweis für das, was er zu tun hatte, einschließen. Da die Tiere nicht als Opfer dargebracht werden, bleibt als Idee des Ritus mindestens die Verfügung Jahwes über das Leben der Tiere, welches

Arpad (ca. 750 v. Chr.) . . . , wo nicht nur *ygʒr* 'gl' (I A 40) das Zerschneiden des Kalbes genannt, sondern mit demselben *ygʒr* auch "die Vereinbarung geschnitten" werden (I A 7); und das entspricht sprachlich nicht nur allgemein dem hebr. *krt bryt* (cf. KAI II 245), sondern hat in *gʒrjm* von Gen 15,17 (sonst nur Ps 136,13) seine Parallele". Zur Auseinandersetzung mit Perlitt vgl. auch J. HALBE, *Das Privilegrecht Jahwes Ex 34,10-26* (Göttingen 1975) 230-253.

(46) PERLITT, *Bundestheologie*, 46. Gern verweise ich auch auf die ausführliche Besprechung von Gen 15 bei VAN SETERS, *Abraham*, 249-279, der an eine spätexilische Datierung unter Djesajas Einfluß denkt (einschließlich aller Verheißungstraditionen!). Im Lichte von Gen 16,10 (s. die Exegese in A. 36) würde jedenfalls die exilisch-nachexilische Entstehung der Vermehrungsverheißung (wie Sand am Meer o. ä.) angesichts der Diaspora viel Plausibilität in 13,14-16; 22,15-18; 26,3-5; 32,13 haben.

(47) PERLITT, *Bundestheologie*, 46. Mit der älteren Exegese meine ich, daß die Traum-Audition V. 13-16 mit dem Ritus nichts zu tun hat und hier unberücksichtigt bleiben kann. Eine ganze eigene, den Text neu gliedernde Exegese (V. 11-16 als Einschub) gab WESTERMANN, BKAT I, 14 (1979) 268-271. Sie scheint mir auf einem Mißverständnis der Rolle von V. 13-16 in Gen 15 zu beruhen.

stellvertretende Funktion hat, weil es sich um opferfähige Tiere handelt. Dann vollzieht Jahwe seine Selbstverpflichtung bei dem Leben der hingegebenen Tiere, die stellvertretend für geschaffenes Leben wirken. Wegen der Selbstverpflichtung beim Leben der Tiere durfte Abraham keinesfalls den Angriff der Raubvögel auf die Tierteile zulassen oder als böses Omen nehmen, d. h. auch V. 11 gibt in diesem Rahmen ausgezeichneten Sinn. Schließlich läßt sich aus dem hier vorgelegten Verständnis mit Leichtigkeit die viel rohere Deutung von Jer 34,18 f (mit Parallele) ableiten, insofern als rohe staatliche Verhältnisse auch roherer Maßnahmen zu ihrer Kontrolle bedürfen. Es bleibt daher festzuhalten, daß es guten Sinn gibt, den Ritus von Gen 15 weiterhin als einen archaischen anzusehen.

Angesichts des Selbstbewußtseins der dtn-dtr. Formel scheint mir daher nichts Hinreichendes gegen eine Zugehörigkeit von Gen 15,9-12aα.b.17f zum sog. Jahwisten eingewandt werden zu können. Zwar kann man wie H. H. Schmid⁽⁴⁸⁾ die Grenzbeschreibung von V. 18 mit 1 Kön 5,1; 2 Kön 24,7; Jes 27,12 zusammenstellen; aber

⁽⁴⁸⁾ *Jahwist*, 125 f. SCHMID, 126, nannte es erstaunlich, daß die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft nicht längst Gen 15 als sehr junges Produkt der Tradition erkannt habe. Nun ist Gen 15 in seiner gegenwärtigen Gestalt und besonders in seiner Zerteilung der Einheiten sehr jung und gewiß nachpriesterschriftlich; aber das Fascinosum dieses Kapitels besteht darin, daß es *Geistesgeschichte* enthält und nicht nur den Geist *einer* Zeit. Gegen WESTERMANN, BKAT, I, 14, 253 hat die exakte Beschreibung des Befundes seit langem bemerkt, daß die Einheit V. 7-21 nicht selbständig ist — der situationslose V. 7 verlangt nach Vorhergehendem. Ferner führt eine Überprüfung sämtlicher Belege für *ḥāšab* 1^e nicht zu einer Bestätigung der berühmten Deutung von Gen 15,6 durch G. v. RAD, "Die Anrechnung des Glaubens zur Gerechtigkeit", *Ges. Studien* (München 1958) 130-135, sondern zu Gen 50,20 als der nächsten Parallele. V. 6 b muß daher übersetzt werden: "Und das plante er (Gott) ihm zur Gerechttat". V. 6 b verlangt also eine Fortsetzung, den Bericht über Jahwes Gerechttat. Schließlich findet die Ankündigung großen Lohnes (V. 1) in V. 1-6 keine Einlösung, da V. 5 gegenüber 12,2 (13,14-16) nichts Neues sagt und erst 15,18 mit den besonderen Grenzen der Landverheißung Überraschendes mitteilt. Der notorisch sehr späte V. 7 zog V. 8 als Überleitung nach sich und schuf erst die Fuge zur Gliederung in zwei Einheiten. In V. 5.6.12aβ. 13-16 liegen die stark veränderten Reste einer Eintragung anderer Traditionen vor, während 15,1.2.4.9-12aα.b.17-18 auch formal eine echte Erzählung und keine Orakelsammlung darstellt. — Diese Rekonstruktion ist natürlich bloße Hypothese; aber ohne Hypothese wird Gen 15 bestimmt nicht erklärt werden können.

die drei stark gestreuten Belege reichen kaum, um die Grenznotiz "vom Euphrat bis zum Bach Ägyptens" als spät zu erweisen. Urgestein muß die Überlieferung freilich nicht sein. Vielmehr legt es sich nahe, bei dieser Tradition mit Lohfink an das Legitimationsbedürfnis für das sehr uneinheitliche, das Volk Israel weit überdehnende Reich Davids zu denken. Über Gen 14 hinweg müßte die Tradition von Gen 15 nach 13,18 in J Hebron zum Haftpunkt haben, die erste Hauptstadt Davids⁽⁴⁹⁾, anfangs für das Reich Juda. Nach dem Judaspruch der alten Sammlung von Stämmessprüchen Gen 49,3-17.19-27 erwartete man für Juda einen⁽⁵⁰⁾, "dem Gehorsam von Völkerschaften zukommt" (V. 10 b). Eine solche oder ähnliche Vorstellung dürfte 15,18 in eine Landverheißung, ausgehend von 28,13b.14b, umgesetzt haben. U. a. war ja die Großreich-Verheißung geeignet, mit der Legitimation des Großreichs die enormen inneren Probleme zurücktreten zu lassen, die sich aus der Koexistenz ehemals kanaänischer Städte mit Israeliten im Reiche Davids ergeben mußten. Denn eine so weiträumige Herrschaft wie die von Gen 15,18 ließ jedenfalls auch das Problem ehemals kanaänischer Territorien in Israel klein erscheinen, weil die Territorien im Großreich nur klein zu nennen waren.

Mehr als eine Hypothese kann dies gewiß nicht sein. Sie erklärt jedoch die großartige Tradition von Gen 15 besser als die Annahme, daß erst die nationale Not die Tradition einer ganz ungewöhnlichen Selbstverpflichtung Jahwes zugunsten des Landbesitzes in den Grenzen Davids provoziert habe, weil die nationale Not nicht zwingend an ein so umfangreiches Gebiet wie das von Gen 15,18 denken läßt. Es ist *eine* Sache, ein Großreich zu ertragen, weil es militärisch die Machtmittel hat bzw. gegen den Usurpator aus den eigenen Reihen zu revoltieren, der es schuf (2 Sam 15-18), und eine andere, die Möglichkeiten dieses Reiches mit der eigenen, spezifischen Tradition vermittelt zu finden. Das Stichwort für die Vermittlung gab das aus

⁽⁴⁹⁾ Vgl. dazu R. E. CLEMENTS, *Abraham and David* (London 1967) 25 mit Berufung auf J. WELLHAUSEN, *Die Composition des Hexateuch* (Leipzig 1899) 24. A. DE PURY, *Promesse divine I*, 47-85. Freilich, weil ich den in A. 48 genannten Kern von Gen 15 zu J rechne, denke ich inzwischen, daß 13,14-16.17 nicht vor Gen 15 zu J gehörte, sondern nachgetragen wurde, als Gen 14 hinzukam.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ Ich hoffe, demnächst für das rätselhafte *šjlh* von Gen 49,10 einen Vorschlag ohne Änderung der Konsonanten machen zu können.

28,14b gewonnene Gotteswort 12,3b: Segen in Abraham für die Sippen der Erde. Muß man nicht angesichts der ethnischen Verhältnisse in Davids Großreich Gen 15,18 dahin verstehen, daß Jahwe nicht einfach der Gott einer Nation war, sondern als Gott der ganzen Welt mit Abrahams Berufung Ziele verfolgte, die über die Existenzsicherung der Abrahamsnachkommen hinausgingen⁽⁵¹⁾?

Die Überlegungen zu Gen 15 geben den Anlaß, einen letzten Schritt zu tun. Das Alte Testament zeigt uns bei all seinen wichtigen Themen eine traditionsbewußte Traditionsbildung. Zur Selbstdeutung bedurfte gerade das späte Israel, das die Überlieferungen erhalten und geformt hat, der vorgegebenen Tradition. Sollte dies nicht davor zurückschrecken lassen, ganze Themenbereiche, u. a. auch ausgesprochen "theologische", als erfunden zu erklären? Keine Schwierigkeiten macht es, sich vorzustellen, daß das traditionsbewußte Israel Vorgegebenes in Brauch nimmt und weiterführt oder verändert; aber es bleibt bedenklich, bei der Art der israelitischen Überlieferung Hypothesen auf bloß Erfundenes zu bauen, so gewiß vieles nachweislich der Phantasie und dem Weiterdenken entsprungen ist. Die Verheißungstradition der Väterüberlieferung kann ein Beispiel dafür werden, daß es immer noch lohnt, mit A. Alt und M. Noth nach Ursprüngen und Anfängen der Überlieferung zu fragen, welche die spätere Entwicklung erklären. Nicht immer wird dies zu sicheren Ergebnissen führen — das ist inzwischen deutlich geworden; aber die Frage ist richtig, weil sie der Art der Überlieferung angemessen ist. Sie muß bleiben.

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⁽⁵¹⁾ So im wesentlichen nach R. E. Clements und N. Lohfink. — Zur J-Hypothese habe ich mich in der Theologische Realenzyklopädie ausführlich zu äußern, worauf ich hier verweisen darf. Vorwegnehmend sei erwähnt, daß ich die J-Hypothese für extrem instabil halte und es daher eine Hilfe sein könnte, wenigstens einzelne Traditionen genauer datieren zu können. Dies gilt vor allem deshalb, weil z. Z. keine sicheren Kriterien für die Unterscheidung von J-Grundbestand und J-Ergänzungen vorliegen — abgesehen noch von der Hypothese des Jehowisten, deren Fruchtbarkeit mir nicht gewiß ist.

SOMMAIRE

Les promesses de 28,13 b.14 b concernant la terre et de 21,18/16,10 (46,3 a) concernant le peuple devraient constituer les points fermes originels de la tradition. Les arguments contraires, tant de nature littéraire qu'inspirés de l'histoire des traditions, sont surchargés d'hypothèses aujourd'hui incontrôlables et sont pour autant trop faibles pour servir à la réfutation d'évaluations de type historique. La preuve de l'existence de traditions très anciennes dans la Gen ou dans le Pt appuie la supposition classique de sources antérieures aux Prophètes. Nous basant sur une méthode analogue, nous proposons de considérer Gen 15 non plus comme le produit d'un esprit proto-dtn, mais comme contenant un noyau ancien qui reflète des problèmes remontant au royaume de David.

Gli “Anziani” in Giuda

Introduzione

Nell'introduzione dell'articolo «Gli Anziani di Israele», nel precedente numero di *Biblica*, si era accennato ad una sostanziale differenziazione delle strutture politiche nelle tribù del nord e nel territorio di Giuda. Nelle analisi che seguono si vuole quindi evidenziare questa differenziazione: dettagliare cioè i caratteri distintivi della struttura politica di Giuda e osservare insieme l'evoluzione storica a cui essa fu soggetta.

Come osservazione preliminare si deve anzitutto mettere in evidenza la mancanza di un termine tecnico specifico che definisca in modo univoco l'autorità politica nel territorio di Giuda: si assiste piuttosto ad una pluralità di espressioni equivalenti che, pur comprendendo in sé un significato tecnico, manifestano altresì un certo margine di indeterminatezza o più probabilmente la presenza di titolature differenziate all'interno dello stesso territorio di Giuda (*zīqnê y^hūdāh*, 'iš y^hūdāh, *zīqnê hā'ir*).

Una distinzione invece strutturale, che assume un forte peso nelle vicende storiche di Giuda, è data dall'espressione *zīqnê bayit*: essa definisce i funzionari della corte reale, che rappresentano un potere strutturalmente diverso dalle autorità precedentemente nominate. Chiarire questa distinzione significa anche riconoscere lo sviluppo storico nella sua dinamica specifica.

Per sottolineare questa eterogeneità di strutture politiche in Giuda ho titolato il presente studio «Gli ‘Anziani’ in Giuda»: con ciò intendo marcare insieme una differenziazione netta con la più omogenea struttura politica degli «Anziani di Israele», propria delle tribù israelitiche del nord.

1. Le autorità cittadine (1 Sam 30,26-31; 11,1-15; 16,1-13)

Un primo testo particolarmente importante per comprendere la funzione degli *z^eqēnīm* in Giuda e insieme il loro originario ruolo politico, è rappresentato da 1 Sam 30,26-31.

Questo testo si colloca all'interno dei racconti sull'ascesa di David al trono, assume tuttavia una sua particolare indipendenza letteraria attraverso una chiara introduzione in v. 26, che lo stacca dal racconto precedente, e da una conclusione in v. 31b⁽¹⁾ che sembra situare il testo nel primo periodo davidico. Si tratta di una lunga lista di città, ai cui *zēqēnīm* (v. 26a) David invia in dono parte del bottino tolto agli Amaleciti. Le città nominate nel testo sono tutte comprese tra Beer-Sheba, al confine con il deserto del Negeb, e Hebron; esse sono abitate da diverse tribù: le tribù di Kaleb, Otniel, Simeone, Jerachmeel e Kain.

Queste città, insieme a quelle non citate della tribù di Giuda propriamente detta, che abitava la regione a nord di Hebron e a cui David apparteneva, vengono evidentemente considerate come città legate politicamente tra loro, accomunate insieme da un patto in funzione anti-amalecita.

Gli Amaleciti, una tribù seminomade del Negeb meridionale, che tuttavia era già politicamente sviluppata e istituzionalmente retta da una monarchia (cf. Nu 24,7), rappresentavano infatti il principale pericolo per le popolazioni già sedentarizzate della regione: la loro pressione per ottenere una terra fertile esigeva una lotta difensiva, dal cui esito dipendeva la loro esistenza.

Per combattere più efficacemente gli Amaleciti, le città situate tra Beer-Sheba e il territorio di Gerusalemme avevano formato, probabilmente già alla fine del XII secolo, una federazione politica. Questa, che potremmo chiamare Grande-Giuda, si presenta infatti già politicamente consolidata nel periodo dell'espansione filisteica e sembra aver trovato con questi un compromesso politico per un reciproco riconoscimento territoriale⁽²⁾.

Analizzando il testo 1 Sam 30,26-31 si deve notare anzitutto che gli *zīqnē y'hūdāh* (v. 26a) non sono riferiti a precise tribù, ma a singole città. Essi sono intesi cioè come autorità di città politicamente autonome, non strutturate in tribù⁽³⁾ e interessate tutte alla lotta contro gli Amaleciti.

A queste autorità, responsabili della politica delle singole città-stato, David invia un donativo, parte del bottino sottratto agli Ama-

⁽¹⁾ H. J. ZOBEL, «Beiträge zur Geschichte Gross-Judas in früh- und vor-davidischer Zeit», SVT 28 (1975) 257.

⁽²⁾ H. J. ZOBEL, «Beiträge», 271.

⁽³⁾ H. J. ZOBEL, «Beiträge», 264.

leciti; in tal modo egli si presenta ufficialmente come vendicatore sui nemici di Jahwè (v. 26b). Con questo gesto di chiaro sapore politico David intendeva anzitutto accreditarsi presso le autorità della regione di Giuda come propugnatore degli interessi politici propri a queste città, in particolare come difensore della loro frontiera meridionale (cf. 1 Sam 27,5-12), e si prefiggeva inoltre, a lunga scadenza, un riconoscimento politico del proprio ruolo da parte di tutte le autorità della regione.

Questo scopo in effetti si realizza più tardi, quando, dopo la morte di Saul, David sale a Hebron per farne la propria residenza (2 Sam 2,2s): a Hebron, considerata la capitale della confederazione delle città di Giuda, si raccolgono gli «uomini di Giuda» (v. 4), identificabili facilmente con gli *zignê y^ehûdâh* di 1 Sam 30,26, autorità politiche delle singole città, per ungerlo re su tutta la «casa di Giuda» (v. 4b).

Importante è sottolineare a questo punto la evidente correlazione tra le espressioni *zignê y^ehûdâh* e *'anšê y^ehûdâh*, che si riferiscono alle medesime autorità. L'equivalenza delle due espressioni ricorre infatti in buona parte dei testi che si riferiscono alle autorità politiche di Giuda e sembra essere una caratteristica propria a questa struttura politica. D'altra parte non si riconosce una evidente distinzione di ruoli che giustifichi l'uso di queste espressioni in senso tecnico e differenziato. Le autorità politiche di Giuda hanno di fatto una doppia titolatura, che evidenzia il loro carattere specifico, non confondibile con il ruolo di capi tribali.

Un ulteriore approfondimento di questo aspetto viene offerto da 1 Sam 11,1-15, un testo tematicamente vicino a Giud 11,1-11, ma che presenta caratteristiche narrative e letterarie di datazione più recente.

1 Sam 11,1-15 rappresenta una tradizione specifica del santuario di Ghilgal e si colloca in una posizione autonoma rispetto ai racconti sulla regalità di Saul⁽⁴⁾; in questo testo si parla della città di Jabesh di Galaad, che subisce l'assedio da parte dell'esercito ammonita.

(4) Secondari sono da considerarsi i vv. 12-14 che introducono la figura di Samuele come promotore della regalità di Saul e tentano di armonizzare questa tradizione con quella del cap. 10. La cerimonia regale a Ghilgal viene allora vista come momento necessario per affermare Saul come re anche da parte di quelle tribù che non volevano riconoscerlo.

A differenza di Giud 11,1-11, che identificava Galaad con il territorio a sud dello Jabbok, tale denominazione si estende in 1 Sam 11 anche alla zona montagnosa a nord dello stesso fiume, probabilmente nei pressi del *wadi el-jabis*⁽⁵⁾; la zona interessata è quindi relativamente lontana dal territorio ammonita propriamente detto.

È difficile dare una spiegazione attendibile di questo attacco ammonita su Jabesh, perché i documenti in nostro possesso sono estremamente scarsi. Si può tuttavia intuire la dinamica storica attraverso una serie di informazioni implicite: 1) al tempo di Saul lo Stato ammonita conosceva un periodo di forte espansione, che si era ulteriormente consolidata sotto David (cf. 2 Sam 10,1ss). Ciò fu reso possibile anche per la pressione militare che i Filistei esercitavano da occidente su Israele⁽⁶⁾. 2) gli Ammoniti erano intenzionati a conquistare tutti i territori israelitici ad oriente del Giordano: tale intenzione sembra espressa da Nacas in 1 Sam 11,2c e trova conferma nel fatto che gli abitanti di Jabesh, anziché rivolgersi direttamente alla tribù di Galaad, mandano messaggeri alle tribù a occidente del Giordano e precisamente a Beniamino (v. 4). Evidentemente il territorio di Galaad a sud dello Jabbok era già stato invaso e questa tribù non possedeva più quindi una sua consistenza politica autonoma. 3) la forza degli Ammoniti era considerata talmente irresistibile, che gli abitanti di Jabesh, ancor prima di tentare una qualche resistenza, non esitano a scendere a patti con Nacas (v. 1c) e a sottomettersi. Soltanto a condizioni di resa irragionevoli essi si decidono a mandare messaggeri in Israele (v. 3) per chiedere aiuto militare.

Jabesh è una città che appartiene al territorio e alla tribù di Galaad, ma appare in questo testo completamente isolata dal contesto tribale, probabilmente perché era rimasta uno degli ultimi insediamenti israelitici in Transgiordania non ancora soggetto alla potenza ammonita. Jabesh non può fare affidamento sulle sue forze, perché non dispone di una struttura politica e di una forza militare propria: non è cioè una città politicamente autonoma; deve quindi far riferimento ad altre tribù israelitiche.

In questo contesto deve essere valutato l'accento agli *zignê yabêš* in v. 3, che molto probabilmente non è esente da una interpretazione politica da parte dell'autore di questo testo.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. K. MÖHLENBRINK, «Sauls Ammoniterfeldzug und Samuels Beitrag zum Königtum des Saul», *ZAW* 58 (1941/42) 62 s.

⁽⁶⁾ K. MÖHLENBRINK, «Sauls Ammoniterfeldzug», 58 s.

Gli elementi linguistici di 1 Sam 11,1-15 fanno riferimento in effetti ad altre tradizioni di origine meridionale. Il termine *herpāh 'al* (v. 2) si ritrova in Gios 5,9, una tradizione legata anch'essa a Ghilgal, e in 1 Sam 17,26 che riferisce della sfida di David a Golia; d'altra parte l'espressione *tišlah rūah-ēlōhīm* (v. 6) ricollega il testo sia alla tradizione di Sansone (Giud 14,6.19; 15,14), che fa riferimento alle località di Giuda o al territorio ad esso contiguo, sia alla tradizione profetica di 1 Sam 9,1-10,16 (cf. 10,6.10), sorta probabilmente attorno allo stesso santuario di Ghilgal⁽⁷⁾.

Di questa ambientazione, molto prossima alla situazione socio-politica della tribù di Giuda, risente indubbiamente anche l'autore di 1 Sam 11,1-15 nella definizione delle autorità cittadine di Jabesh, che sono gli interlocutori nella trattativa con gli Ammoniti. Esse ricevono sia il titolo di *ziqnē yābēš* (v. 3), sia quello di *'anšē yābēš* (v. 1b.5c.9bβ.10a) o di *'iš yābēš*, in senso collettivo (v. 9aβ).

Non è affatto evidente dall'analisi testuale e letteraria che l'espressione *ziqnē yābēš* debba essere considerata come una interpolazione posteriore, né si possono capire i motivi, perché essa non sia stata generalizzata a tutto il testo. Le due titolature si riferiscono senza dubbio alla stessa categoria di persone, che rappresentavano l'autorità politica della città. Esse sono viste cioè nell'ottica della situazione politica di Giuda, anche se in realtà assumevano un rilievo ben diverso nel contesto della struttura tribale di Galaad.

Essi in effetti, a differenza delle città di Giuda, non hanno capacità di autonomia politico-militare, ma si devono riferire e appoggiare alla struttura tribale di Israele. La città di Jabesh non è governata in modo autonomo da un consiglio di *zēqēnīm*, ma appartiene piuttosto alla struttura tribale di Galaad.

Una conferma della strutturazione politica in Giuda secondo città autonome è data dal testo 1 Sam 16,4, in cui vengono citati gli *ziqnē hā'ir* di Betlemme: una autorità politica quindi con competenza sul territorio cittadino.

1 Sam 16,1-13 è una tradizione profetica autonoma, che non trova alcun aggancio con altre tradizioni presenti in 1 Sam 17 e 2

⁽⁷⁾ L'espressione è usata anche in 1 Sam 16,13 in un contesto però più stereotipato, quale elemento narrativo superfluo nella logica del racconto. Essa è un elemento letterario preso probabilmente dai precedenti scritti profetici.

Sam 2-5: l'unzione di David per mano di Samuele viene da questi testi perfettamente ignorata.

Sia lo stile letterario, sia il contenuto teologico, fanno accostare questo testo alle altre tradizioni tipicamente profetiche della storia di Saul. L'uso tipico di *mā'as* (v. 1.7) per indicare la fondamentale trasgressione alla legislazione jahwista, rimanda inevitabilmente alla tradizione profetica dell'unzione di Saul (1 Sam 8,7) e del suo ripudio da parte di Jahwè (1 Sam 15,23.26)⁽⁸⁾. Ugualmente l'espressione *mimlök* (v. 1) rinvia a 1 Sam 8,7, mentre l'uso del sostantivo *qômāh* (v. 7), riferito alla statura dell'uomo, si ritrova soltanto in 1 Sam 28,20, una tradizione profetica letterariamente e tematicamente legata a 1 Sam 15.

Oltre allo stile letterario comune, i suddetti testi sono caratterizzati da una visione storico-religiosa omogenea, che considera la monarchia come una istituzione non assolutistica, ma soggetta alla legislazione jahwista e ai suoi profeti, e che pone l'accento non sui pregi esteriori e culturali, quanto piuttosto sui valori morali quali la coerenza e la sincerità di cuore (1 Sam 15,17.22s; 16,7; 28,18; 8,7).

Il racconto di 1 Sam 16,1-13 ha dichiaratamente lo scopo di rettificare la concezione monarchica vigente al tempo dell'autore: il re viene visto esclusivamente come eletto da Jahwè tramite un suo profeta, e il criterio di elezione non si basa sugli effettivi rapporti di potere nella società (cf. 2 Sam 2,4; 5,3), ma sulla disponibilità del candidato all'obbedienza e alla fedeltà alla legislazione jahwista. Per tali elementi storico-letterari è presumibile che 1 Sam 16,1-13 abbia conosciuto la sua stesura letteraria verso la fine del regno di David o all'inizio del periodo salomonico.

Per ungere David quale re su Israele, Samuele si reca a Betlemme con la scusa di sacrificare nel locale santuario di Jahwè (v. 3). Ad accoglierlo a Betlemme sono gli *zignê hā'ir* che gli rivolgono il saluto (v. 4) e ai quali Samuele deve giustificare la sua presenza (v. 5a).

Gli *zēqēnīm* quindi sono autorità cittadine con attribuzioni politico-amministrative, relative all'ordine pubblico. A ciò si aggiunge anche una competenza religiosa: essi presiedono insieme a Samuele al rito sacrificale (v. 5b), a cui viene invitato anche Jesse con i figli.

⁽⁸⁾ La tradizione di 1 Sam 15 costituisce una versione del rifiuto di Saul da parte di Jahwè, originariamente collegata ad una guerra contro gli Amaleciti. È una tradizione legata al santuario jahwista di Ghilgal.

Importante a questo proposito è la distinzione morfologica dei rispettivi verbi: mentre Jesse e figli «vengono purificati» (forma *pi'el* con sogg. Samuele), gli *zēqēnīm* «si purificano» (forma *hitpa'el*), hanno cioè per loro natura una funzione religiosa attiva, simile a quella di Samuele. Di loro competenza particolare era la gestione amministrativa del santuario jahwista.

Si deve notare infine che gli *zēqēnīm* non sono intesi come autorità individuali, ma piuttosto come corpo collegiale a cui fa capo l'amministrazione politica e religiosa della città. L'espressione *zīqnē hā'ir* (v. 4) evidenzia di fatto questo aspetto collegiale del potere politico e accosta questo testo a Giud 8,16, in cui la stessa espressione definiva l'autorità collegiale, con competenze prettamente politiche, della città-stato di Succot.

2. Autorità cittadine e istituzione monarchica (2 Sam 19,12)

Per capire il rapporto esistente tra gli *zīqnē yēhūdāh* e l'istituzione monarchica sotto David è importante analizzare la citazione degli *zīqnē yēhūdāh* che si riscontra in 2 Sam 19,12, un passo che appartiene al lungo racconto della successione di David.

Dopo la sconfitta di Assalonne ad opera dell'esercito rimasto fedele a David, vengono riferite in 2 Sam 19,10-15 le trattative in atto presso le tribù di Israele per far tornare David e riconoscerlo nuovamente come re (v. 10s). David tuttavia vuole giocare d'anticipo sull'iniziativa di Israele e invita la tribù di Giuda, per intermediario dei sacerdoti Zadok ed Ebiatar, a riconoscerlo re per prima e a riportarlo sul trono di Gerusalemme (v. 12). Gli argomenti che egli produce sono anzitutto fondati sul legame tribale (v. 13), a cui si aggiungono vantaggiose prospettive politiche per Amasa, capo dell'esercito di Assalonne e rappresentante degli interessi politici di Giuda (v. 14). Questi argomenti risultano molto convincenti e viene unanimemente deciso di riportare David sul trono di Gerusalemme (v. 15).

Le autorità politiche, a cui si rivolgono Zadok ed Ebiatar e da cui dipende il riconoscimento di David come re, sono anzitutto gli *zīqnē yēhūdāh* (v. 12b) e secondariamente Amasa (v. 14a), inteso come coordinatore politico-militare nella tribù di Giuda e come responsabile principale nelle decisioni politiche. Chi decide il ritorno di David come re in Gerusalemme sono infatti i *kol-'iš yēhūdāh* (v. 15a), i responsabili politici di tutte le città di Giuda, che eviden-

temente formavano un «consiglio politico» centrale con poteri decisionali. In base alla loro decisione e alla loro esplicita dichiarazione (v. 15b), David può ritornare a Gerusalemme, sapendo di poter contare sull'effettivo riconoscimento e appoggio politico al suo potere monarchico da parte delle popolazioni di tutte le città di Giuda.

Vi è da notare l'uso sinonimico delle espressioni *zignê y^ehūdāh* e *kol-'îš y^ehūdāh*, che nel contesto indicano senza alcun dubbio la stessa cerchia di persone: gli stessi interlocutori politici di David che poi devono prendere una decisione politicamente impegnativa. Anche in questo testo non si rileva una particolare distinzione semantica tra le due espressioni.

L'attribuzione di *'îš y^ehūdāh* ai responsabili politico-militari viene infatti confermata nei passi successivi del racconto: in 2 Sam 19,17, in cui Scimèi, capo beniaminita, si associa agli altri capi di Giuda che vanno incontro a David; in 19,43s, in cui viene riferita la disputa tra i responsabili di Giuda e di Israele per l'attribuzione di priorità nell'iniziativa del ritorno di David. Ugualmente in riferimento ai responsabili politici o militari è l'espressione in 2 Sam 20,2.4 e Giud 15,10. Per indicare il popolo di Giuda, senza particolari attribuzioni politiche, l'autore del racconto della successione di David preferisce usare l'espressione più appropriata *kol-'am y^ehūdāh* (19,41).

3. I funzionari di corte (2 Sam 12,17)

Oltre agli *zignê y^ehūdāh* vi era nel regno davidico anche un'altra categoria di autorità, nettamente distinta dai primi: gli *zignê bayit*. Questi sono testimoniati in 2 Sam 12,17, un passo che appartiene ugualmente al racconto della successione di David.

In questo testo si narra che, dopo il rimprovero di Natan a David per avere ucciso Uria e dopo la sua profezia della morte del figlio che sarebbe nato da Betsabea, quest'ultimo si ammala effettivamente in modo grave (v. 15). Per impetrare la sua guarigione David digiuna e si corica per terra in segno di profondo dolore (v. 16). A questo comportamento del re si contrappone la preoccupazione degli *zignê bayit* per convincerlo ad alzarsi da terra e a prendere cibo: il loro intervento rimane tuttavia infruttuoso (v. 17). Inoltre sono essi che poi, alla morte del bambino, sono incaricati di riferire la notizia a David, ma non hanno il coraggio di farlo per le prevedibili conseguenze (v. 18).

Gli *zignê bayit* sono i dignitari della corte reale, preposti alle diverse funzioni amministrative del regno. Essi sono chiamati anche più genericamente *'abdê dāwid* (v. 18b.19a.19c.21a), alle strette dipendenze del re David. La loro relativa influenza sugli affari personali del re e politici in genere deriva unicamente dalla loro posizione a corte, nell'amministrazione centrale del regno che David aveva attuato. Il loro potere è nettamente distinto, e talvolta anche contrapposto, a quello detenuto dagli *zignê yehūdāh* (cf. 2 Sam 19,15: gli *'abdê dāwid* sono infatti gli artefici della vittoria su Assalonne). Le istituzioni degli *zignê yehūdāh* e degli *zignê bayit* sono poteri in effetti di origine diversa: i primi rappresentano gli interessi delle popolazioni cittadine, i secondi invece difendono il potere della corte reale nella sua attività centralizzatrice e assolutistica. I due poteri assumono quindi spesso, per loro natura, posizioni politiche divergenti in base ai relativi interessi.

4. Gli *zēqēnīm* nel regno di Giuda (2 Re 23,1s)

Un ultimo testo da analizzare, che permette di scorgere, anche se in modo inadeguato, lo sviluppo del potere degli *zignê yehūdāh* nei rapporti con l'istituzione monarchica, è dato da 2 Re 23,1s, un testo molto recente, della fine del VII secolo. Questo testo fornisce una ulteriore conferma dell'equivalenza semantica delle espressioni *zignê yehūdāh* e *'iš yehūdāh*, e chiarisce insieme lo sviluppo del loro significato e ruolo politico.

Per la solenne cerimonia della proclamazione della legge dell'Alleanza al tempio di Gerusalemme, il re Giosia fa convocare gli *zignê yehūdāh* e quelli di Gerusalemme (v. 1b). Vi è da sottolineare anzitutto il significato territoriale che anche in questo testo assume la figura degli *zēqēnīm*: citare gli *zignê yehūdāh* accanto agli «Anziani» della città di Gerusalemme significa ammettere implicitamente un loro potere territoriale. Essi erano i responsabili politici delle altre città del regno di Giuda e la loro competenza era legata al territorio della rispettiva città.

Quali massime autorità politiche in Giuda essi presenziano insieme al re alla solenne cerimonia al tempio. Nel verso seguente sono infatti elencate per ordine di importanza politica le persone presenti all'assemblea: anzitutto il re, prima autorità del regno; poi vengono i *kol-'iš yehūdāh wekol-yōšēbē yērušālāim* (v. 2a), i collaboratori più stretti del re che partecipano con lui alla responsabilità nella

gestione politica: essi figurano «insieme» al re anche nel tempio; poi sono elencati i sacerdoti quali responsabili religiosi, i profeti, consulenti amministrativi sia in campo religioso che politico, e infine il popolo (*kol-hā'ām*), che completa la coreografia dell'adunanza sacra.

In questo testo si opera una distinzione molto chiara tra *'iš yehūdāh* e *'ām*: i primi sono autorità politiche con potere decisionale, il secondo comprende tutte quelle persone che non hanno potere e peso politico nella gestione del regno. L'espressione *'iš yehūdāh weyōšebē yerūšālāim* inoltre rappresenta una formula tecnica per indicare le supreme autorità accanto al re. La fondamentale distinzione tra autorità di Giuda e autorità di Gerusalemme ha come presupposto una organizzazione amministrativa differenziata per Gerusalemme rispetto alle altre città di Giuda; Gerusalemme era la città reale, scelta personalmente da David a capitale del regno e che non apparteneva originariamente ad alcuna tribù israelitica. Essa godeva perciò di uno statuto amministrativo particolare⁽⁹⁾, con organi amministrativi adeguati alla sua condizione di città reale.

La suddetta formulazione si trova già nel testo Is 5,3 ad indicare le autorità giudiziarie competenti, che devono esprimere il loro giudizio disinteressato sul comportamento infedele di Israele nei confronti di Jahwè. La stessa formula viene poi ripresa nel libro di Geremia (4,3.4; 11,2.9; 17,25; 18,11) in riferimento ai responsabili della condotta del popolo e della sua fedeltà alle leggi di Jahwè: questi sono gli interlocutori privilegiati di Jahwè che devono rendere conto dell'applicazione corretta della legislazione jahwista in tutti i suoi aspetti politico-religiosi.

Come formula tecnica l'espressione evidenzia il carattere istituzionale della bipartizione politico-amministrativa tra Gerusalemme e le città di Giuda; d'altra parte essa accomuna le autorità *'iš yehūdāh* e *yōšebē yerūšālāim* in una medesima funzione giurisdizionale, con prevalenti caratteri giudiziari.

In quanto autorità essi si pongono a fianco del re di Giuda (23,1), ma nello stesso tempo rivelano la loro completa subordinazione al potere regale. È il re infatti che si pone come unico soggetto nella lettura del libro dell'Alleanza (v. 2c) e nella stipulazione del

⁽⁹⁾ Cf. A. ALT, «Das Königtum in Israel und Juda», *VT* 1 (1951) 18.

patto davanti a Jahwè (v. 3): lui solo⁽¹⁰⁾, come rappresentante di tutto il popolo, si impegna a rispettare e ad attuare le clausole dell'Alleanza. Il popolo presente all'assemblea, quindi anche gli 'îš y^{ehûdâh} e gli yōšēbê y^{erûšālāim}, hanno semplicemente una funzione di assenso all'azione del re: un ruolo fondamentalmente passivo e fortemente ridimensionato rispetto al testo di 2 Sam 19,12.

La particolare figura politica, che gli ziqnê y^{ehûdâh} sono venuti progressivamente ad assumere nell'ultima fase storica del regno di Giuda, emerge con particolare evidenza in alcuni testi legislativi del Deuteronomio.

I diversi passi del Deuteronomio in cui vengono citati gli z^{ekēnîm} (19,12; 21,2.3.4.6.19.20; 22,15.16.17.18; 25,7.8.9) appartengono tutti a quella sezione legislativa che almeno in parte costituiva il nucleo fondamentale dello scritto ritrovato nel tempio di Gerusalemme sotto il regno di Giosia (2 Re 22,8s)⁽¹¹⁾.

Si tratta di diverse leggi che riprendono e ampliano normative più antiche (cf. 19,1-13 // Es 21,13-14) oppure che propongono leggi su casi giuridici particolari, precedentemente mai affrontati (in caso di assassinio sconosciuto: 21,1-9; di figlio ribelle: 21,18-21; di diffamazione della moglie: 22,13-20; legge del levirato: 25,5-10). Queste leggi prevedono per la soluzione dei suddetti casi l'intervento determinante degli ziqnê hā'îr, autorità quindi competenti per territori cittadini con una funzione esclusivamente giudiziaria.

Essi sono autorità cittadine che esercitano la funzione di giudice alla porta della città (21,19; 22,15; 25,7) e la cui competenza si esercita solo sui residenti della loro città (21,20; 25,8), anche se si trovano fuori sede (19,12; cf. 21,1-6). L'originaria autorità politica e amministrativa (cf. 1 Sam 16,4) delle città di Giuda risulta quindi privata nel corso delle vicende storiche del suo effettivo potere: conserva unicamente la podestà giudiziaria sui cittadini della propria circoscrizione.

Il Deuteronomio registra inoltre anche l'espressione ziqnê yisrā'el (5,23; 27,1; 29,9; 31,9.28), in un contesto però alquanto stereotipato e che appartiene al quadro redazionale dei discorsi di Mosè⁽¹²⁾,

⁽¹⁰⁾ Cf. i verbi nel v. 3 costantemente alla 3^a pers. sing., a cui corrispondono le forme verbali nei vv. 4-14.

⁽¹¹⁾ Cf. SELLIN-FOHRER, *Einleitung in das AT* (Heidelberg 1969) 185.

⁽¹²⁾ Cf. SELLIN-FOHRER, *Einleitung*, 191.

di stesura più recente. Esso rivela insieme un carattere arcaizzante, dove la suddetta espressione ha bisogno di essere chiarita e precisata (cf. (*rō' šē*) *šibṭêkem*: 5,23; 29,9; 31,28) per poter essere compresa adeguatamente dall'ascoltatore. La struttura degli *ziqnê yiśrā'el* si manifesta perciò come un elemento non più attuale per l'ambiente dell'autore deuteronomico, solo un ricordo estraneo alla sua cultura.

Le leggi succitate conoscono invece come elemento caratteristico l'espressione *ziqnê hā'ir* e si inseriscono quindi nell'ordinamento giudiziario tipico del regno di Giuda.

Da questo rilevamento letterario si deve dedurre che il materiale legislativo del Deuteronomio sopra esaminato trova il suo adeguato ambiente culturale e politico non nelle tribù del nord, ma nel regno di Giuda del VII secolo⁽¹³⁾.

Conclusioni

Il potere politico nel territorio di Giuda presenta una differenziazione più marcata che nelle tribù del nord e una caratterizzazione strutturale fondamentalmente diversa. Anche in Giuda si possono riconoscere gli *zēqēnīm* come originarie e principali autorità politiche, ma la loro strutturazione anziché essere legata a tribù o gruppi etnici, si articola in base al territorio (1 Sam 30,26-31). Le loro competenze politiche sono vincolate ad una determinata città e al territorio che a questa città appartiene.

Il parallelo più stretto di tale struttura politica si riscontra in Giud 8,16, dove essa è caratteristica della città-stato di Succot, di popolazione cananaica. Sembra cioè che in Giuda si ripresentino quelle istituzioni politiche che sono tipiche di una popolazione sedentaria e che presuppongono nello stesso tempo una lenta assimilazione con popolazioni locali.

⁽¹³⁾ Mi discosto quindi dall'opinione corrente che attribuisce al materiale legislativo deuteronomico un'origine settentrionale (cf. SELLIN-FOHRER, *Einleitung*, 190). Le conclusioni a cui pervengo sembrano piuttosto coincidere con l'ipotesi di N. LOHFINK («Die Bundesurkunde des Königs Josias», *Bib* 44 [1963] 497s.) sull'origine meridionale del Deuteronomio. Sottolineo tuttavia che io posso affermare l'origine meridionale solo delle leggi prese sopra in esame: per estendere tale giudizio a tutto il Deuteronomio è necessario procedere ad altre dettagliate analisi.

Le diverse città della regione meridionale della Palestina, comprese tra Betlemme e Beer-Sheba e originariamente autonome, realizzano tra loro verso la fine del XII secolo una federazione politica per contrastare più efficacemente la crescente pressione degli Amaleciti, che tendevano a sedentarizzarsi in territorio fertile.

Le autorità competenti per le singole città sono gli *z^eqēnīm*, che dirigono in modo collegiale la politica della confederazione e a cui spetta ogni decisione significativa. Di loro competenza è anche il riconoscimento di David come guida politica della confederazione e la sua conseguente unzione a re su tutta la «casa di Giuda» (2 Sam 2,4b).

A questo proposito si deve rilevare che l'autorità degli *z^eqēnīm* in Giuda ha originariamente una valenza anche religiosa: nel testo 1 Sam 16,4s gli *zīqnê hā'îr* di Betlemme vengono presentati come responsabili amministrativi a cui compete un ruolo liturgico attivo, una propria collocazione come responsabili religiosi nel santuario locale. Nel testo 2 Sam 2,2s invece il loro gesto di incoronazione di David non viene affatto accompagnato da un rito sacrificale o da un giuramento religioso: evidentemente quel gesto non richiedeva una legittimazione religiosa per assumere validità vincolante.

Una spiegazione plausibile di questo fenomeno, che si pone in netto contrasto con l'unzione fatta dagli *zīqnê yiśrā'ēl* (2 Sam 5,3) nel santuario jahwista, credo debba essere ricercata in una differente impostazione giuridica dell'istituzione monarchica: mentre presso le tribù del nord questa viene inserita nel diritto sacrale jahwista, nel territorio di Giuda la monarchia è sentita come una realtà esterna all'ordinamento sacrale, come un fenomeno strettamente dipendente da una opportunità politica. Il potere monarchico, pur essendo delegato dall'autorità politico-religiosa degli *zīqnê hā'îr*, rimane in Giuda indipendente dal diritto sacrale, slegato quindi da quelle esigenze ideali proprie della legislazione jahwista.

L'introduzione dell'istituzione monarchica è originariamente determinata da una precisa decisione degli *zīqnê hā'îr* e poggia dunque su un loro esplicito riconoscimento e appoggio politico (2 Sam 19,12): mancando questo appoggio, David non può mantenere il proprio ruolo monarchico.

Tuttavia nel processo di consolidamento del potere nelle mani del re, in cui un fattore determinante è dato dalla scelta di Gerusalemme come residenza reale, una città cioè neutrale, al di fuori di

qualsiasi influenza degli *zīqnê y^ehūdāh*, questi vengono a perdere progressivamente peso politico.

Causa fondamentale di questo loro ridimensionamento politico è la crescente importanza che acquistano in campo politico e amministrativo gli *zīqnê bayit*, i funzionari della corte reale (2 Sam 12,17). Ad essi in effetti fa capo l'amministrazione del regno, in un organismo politico sempre più centralizzato.

Gli *zīqnê y^ehūdāh*, quali rappresentanti delle diverse popolazioni cittadine, perdono nel corso degli eventi storici i loro poteri più significativi: questi vengono gradualmente assorbiti dall'istituzione monarchica e dalla corte gerosolimitana. Ad essi rimane solo una competenza prettamente giudiziaria, per dirimere le quotidiane controversie degli abitanti della propria circoscrizione cittadina. Questa loro perdita di potere significa nello stesso tempo riduzione degli ambiti di competenza delle autonomie cittadine, controbilanciata da una crescente centralizzazione che fa della corte gerosolimitana l'unico centro effettivo della vita politica e religiosa di Giuda.

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SUMMARY

Political power in Judah is held originally by the "Elders" and is structured not by tribes but by civic territories. The individual city-states are governed by a council of Elders having both administrative and religious jurisdictions. By the end of the XII century, they form themselves into a confederation to oppose the invasion of the Amalinites.

The Elders of Judah also inspire the introduction of the monarchy: they elect King David for reasons of political opportunity and intend to conserve a level of control over the monarchy.

After political centralization under Solomon and his successors, the Elders of the individual cities are left only with judicial powers in cases of ordinary administration.

ANIMADVERSIONES

Die erste und die letzte Vision des Propheten. Eine Überlegung zu Ezechiel 1–3

Ernst Vogt
zum 80. Geburtstag

I

Beim berühmten Rabbi Hai Gaon, 890–898 Haupt der jüdischen Akademie von Pumbedita im Zweistromland, findet sich eine interessante Notiz über die Talmudmanuskripte seiner Tage: Sie sind voll von Randnotizen, die teils Erläuterungen, teils andere Lesarten geben. Hai Gaon fügt hinzu, daß die Abschreiber diese Glossen oftmals nicht übergehen wollen, sondern sie in den fortlaufenden Text einbeziehen⁽¹⁾. Solches Vorgehen entspricht ältester Schreibertradition, und wir können ihr Ergebnis — durch allerlei Glossen aufgefüllte Texte — an vielen Stellen der hebräischen Bibel sehen. Eine besonders deutliche, von vielen Autoren⁽²⁾ zwar erkannte, aber in ihrer Bedeutung nicht gewürdigte Glosse steht Ez 1,2: *baḥ^amiššāh laḥodāš hī^a haššānāh haḥ^amišīt l^a gālūt hammälāk jojākīn*. Die Glosse ist so wiederzugeben: „Am fünften (Tag) des Monats, das ist das fünfte Jahr der Verbannung des Königs Jojachin“.

Innerhalb der Glosse lassen sich drei Bestandteile unterscheiden: 1. das Stichwort, das durch die Glosse erläutert wird, nämlich *baḥ^amiššāh laḥodāš*. Das Stichwort ist aus dem zuvor stehenden Vers 1 genommen und kürzt durch die letzten beiden Wörter die ganze Datumsangabe *bišlošim šānāh bā rēbī^a i baḥ^amiššāh laḥodāš* (im dreißigsten Jahr im vierten [Monat] am fünften [Tag] des Monats) ab. 2. das Explikativpronomen *hī^a* „das ist“. Es hat die grammatische Form des Femininums, weil es sich auf das Jahr — *šānāh*, fem. — in Vers 1 bezieht und dies als das fünfte einer bestimmten Ära identifiziert. 3. die in der Glosse gegebene Erklärung, also das, was Hai Gaon als *pīrūšā^a* bezeichnet: *haššānāh haḥ^amišīt l^a gālūt hammälāk jojākīn* (das fünfte Jahr der Verbannung des Königs Jojachin).

Man fragt sich natürlich, woher der Glossator diese Jahreszahl hat. Kann man annehmen, er habe gewußt, in welchem Jahr der Prophet berufen wor-

⁽¹⁾ S. Y. FRIEDMAN, „A Talmud Fragment of the Gaonic Type“, *Tarbiz* 51 (1981) 37–48.

⁽²⁾ H. EWALD, *Die Propheten des Alten Bundes*, Bd. 2 (Stuttgart 1841) 222; H. WINCKLER, *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen* (Leipzig 1892) 95; W. ZIMMERLI, *Ezechiel* (Biblicher Kommentar Altes Testament 13; Neukirchen 1969) 22; E. VOGT, *Untersuchungen zum Buch Ezechiel* (Analecta Biblica 95; Rom 1981) 1.

den war? Ich halte diese Annahme für zu gewagt. Einfacher ist es, sie seiner kalkulierenden Phantasie zuzuschreiben⁽³⁾. Ez 8,1 steht die Angabe, der Prophet sei im *sechsten* Jahr, genauer: am 5.6.6 von Honorationen konsultiert worden; nach Ez 20,1 erfolgte am 10.5.7 eine weitere Konsultation. In diese chronologische Reihe paßt als erstes Glied am besten das *fünfte* Jahr als Jahr der Berufung.

II

Hat man die Glosse Ez 1,2 ausgeschieden, dann muß untersucht werden, was es mit dem Ez 1,1 genannten *dreißigsten* Jahr auf sich hat. Wie schon zahlreiche Autoren⁽⁴⁾ gesehen haben, kann es sich nur um das dreißigste Jahr der Ära Jojachins handeln, der Ära also, nach der sich alle anderen Datumsangaben des Ezechielbuches richten. Was aber soll in dieses dreißigste Jahr datiert werden? V. 1 sagt unmißverständlich, daß Ezechiel in diesem Jahr "ein göttliches Gesicht"⁽⁵⁾ schaute. Die Alternative, daß der Prophet *seit* jenem Jahr wiederholt Visionen hatte, legt sich nicht nahe — Kap. 8,1 datiert eine Schauung in das sechste, Kap. 40,1 eine weitere ins fünfundzwanzigste Jahr. Wenn der Prophet also bereits *vor* dem dreißigsten Jahr Visionen hatte, kann sich das dreißigste Jahr nur auf ein ganz bestimmtes — nämlich im folgenden berichtetes — Visionserlebnis beziehen.

Ez 1,4b beginnt ein Visionsbericht; wie andere Visionsberichte wird er mit den beiden Wendungen eröffnet: "es kam auf *mich* die Hand Jahwes — und ich sah"⁽⁶⁾. "Auf mich" steht so nicht im hebräischen Standardtext; er schreibt 'ālāw, "auf ihn". Wie ist diese Spannung zum vorausgehenden wā 'ār'āh (V. 1) und zum folgenden wā'erā' (V. 4) "und ich sah" zu erklären? Man kann mit der *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* und ihrem Verweis auf einige Manuskripte und die Septuaginta 'ālaj "auf mich" lesen und so die Inkongruenz ohne Mühe beseitigen. Entstanden ist sie durch den unpersönlich formulierten V. 3a, der jedoch nicht eine Vision einleitet — was nach V. 1 zu erwarten wäre —, sondern ein Wortereignis im Stil der Überschriften prophetischer Bücher ankündigt: *hājoh hājāh d'bar jhwh 'āl j'hāzqe'l bān-būzī hakohen b'e'ārāš kašdīm 'al n'har k'bar* ("Es erging das Wort Jahwes an Ezechiel, Sohn des Busi, den Priester im Land Kaldäa, am Kebra-Fluß"). Wo ist das so angekündigte und eingeleitete Wort Jahwes zu finden? Erst Ez 2,3 steht ein Jahwewort, das nicht mit der Vision in unmittelbarem Zusammenhang stehen muß. Diese Beobachtung führt mich zu der Vermutung, daß sich

⁽³⁾ Ähnlich WINCKLER, *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen*, 95 f.

⁽⁴⁾ Zuletzt: A. D. YORK, "Ezekiel I: Inaugural and Restoration Visions?" *VT* 27 (1977) 82-98, hier 97; B. LANG, *Ezechiel. Der Prophet und das Buch* (Darmstadt 1981) 19; E. KUTSCH, "Die chronologischen Angaben des Ezechielbuches", *ZAW* 95 (1983).

⁽⁵⁾ Da *pluralis excellentiae* vorliegt, ist wie Ez 40,2 singularisch zu übersetzen: VOGT, *Untersuchungen*, 4. Gemeint ist nicht eine 'visionäre Schau Gottes', sondern eine 'göttliche, d.h. gewaltige Vision'.

⁽⁶⁾ Ez 8,1f; mit abweichendem zweiten Glied (*hinneh*) auch 2,9; 3,22 f; 37,1f; 40,1.3.

die zwei Eröffnungszeilen Ez 1,1 und 1,3a in zwei Berichten fortsetzen, so daß sich die Perikope Ez 1,1-3,15 aus zwei miteinander verflochtenen Texten zusammensetzt⁽⁷⁾.

III

Wo finden die Eröffnungszeilen Ez 1,1 und 1,3a ihre Fortsetzung? Für 1,1 scheint es ohne weiteres klar zu sein: 1,3b.4a eröffnen den eigentlichen Visionsbericht, so daß sich ergibt:

Visionsbericht (Anfang)

(1,1) Im 30. Jahr, im 4. Monat, am 5. Tag, als ich mich im Exil am Kebar-Fluß befand, da öffnete sich der Himmel und ich sah ein göttliches Gesicht. (1,3b) Die Hand Jahwes kam dort auf mich (1,4) und ich blickte auf und siehe: ein Sturmwind kam vom Norden...

Schwieriger ist es, die Fortführung von 1,3a zu finden. Erst Ez 2,1 findet sich eine wörtliche Rede Jahwes. Da diese jedoch ganz im Rahmen der Vision verbleibt, kommt erst 2,3 in Frage⁽⁸⁾, so daß sich ergibt:

Berufungsbericht (Anfang)

(1,3a) Es erging das Wort Jahwes an Ezechiel, Sohn des Busi, den Priester, im Land Kaldäa am Kebar-Fluß. (2,3) Er sagte zu mir: Menschensohn, ich sende dich zu den Söhnen Israels [zu Völkern], den widerspenstigen, die gegen mich widerspenstig sind...

Der eingeklammerte Ausdruck "zu Völkern" ist deutlich als Glosse zu erkennen: Sie identifiziert die "Widerspenstigen" als Heiden und entlastet so Israel.

Wie am Anfang, so sind auch am Ende der Perikope Ez 1,1-3,15 die beiden Berichte miteinander verflochten. Im *Berufungsbericht* heißt es am Ende der Beauftragungsrede: "Auf, geh zu den Exulanten!" (3,11), und die Ausführung steht 3,15: "Ich ging zu den Exulanten", wobei dieselben Wörter wiederkehren: *bô'* (gehen) und *gôlâh* (Exil). Was zwischen den beiden Versen steht, gehört, wie wir sehen werden, zum *Visionsbericht*. Demnach lautet das Ende des *Berufungsberichts*:

Berufungsbericht (Ende)

(3,11) Auf, geh zu den Exulanten, zu den Söhnen deines Volkes und sprich zu ihnen, sage zu ihnen: So sagt der Herr Jahwe, ob sie hören oder es lassen! (3,15) Da ging ich zu den Exulanten [in Tel Abib wohnen sie] am Kebar-Fluß und wo⁽⁹⁾ sie wohnen, dort saß ich sieben Tage lang verstört bei ihnen.

Vers 15 ist außerordentlich schwierig und man kommt nicht daran vorbei, einige Wörter als dem Text inkorporierte Randnotizen auszuscheiden. Durch das erhalten gebliebene Randstichwort (*ha-jošbîm*) erkennen wir den

⁽⁷⁾ Das ist oft vermutet worden, s. LANG, *Ezechiel*, 127 Anm. 93. Selbst nach VOGT, *Untersuchungen*, 23, der an der Einheit der zwei Berichte festhält, läßt es sich "nicht leugnen, daß die beiden Visionen sich voneinander tief unterscheiden und ganz verschiedene Bilder bieten".

⁽⁸⁾ Die Verbindung von Ez 1,3a und 2,3 postuliert auch W. A. IRWIN, *The Problem of Ezekiel* (Chicago 1943) 229.

⁽⁹⁾ Vokalisiere: *wa'ššâr*. Für eine andere Auffassung vgl. J. BECKER, "Einige Hyperbata im Alten Testament", *BZ* 17 (1973) 257-264, dort 259 f.

Zusatz unschwer: das *jošbîm* des Haupttextes ist mit *tel 'ābībāh jošbîm* (in Tel Abib wohnen sie) glossiert, wobei das *he* als *he locativum* zu *tel 'ābīb* zu ziehen und nicht als Artikel zu lesen ist. Weil der Ortsname allein an dieser Stelle belegt ist, könnte sich in dem Zusatz die besondere Ortskenntnis eines Lesers niedergeschlagen haben. (Alternativ möchte ich erwägen, ob sich das Glossenstichwort *hjsbjm* auf den Ausdruck *hemmāh jošbîm šām* bezieht. Dann wäre das *he* nicht Artikel, sondern wohl Abkürzung von *hemmāh*, und die eigentliche Glosse *'āl nēhar kēbār*. Diese Deutung hat den Vorzug, daß sie vom Glossator nicht die Einführung einer neuen Information verlangt.)

Als Schlußabschnitt des *Visionsberichts* bleiben somit die Verse 3,12-14. Inhaltlich passen sie ohne weiteres zur Vision: Die Erwähnung der "Hand Jahwes" verbindet 3,14b mit 1,3b, so daß sich eine schöne stilistische Inklusion ergibt. Die Nennung der *rūḥ* verbindet 3,14 a mit 2,2, so daß sich der Prophet im Visionsbericht nur bewegen kann, wenn der Wind/Geist ihn dazu befähigt. Die geheimnisvollen geflügelten Wesen von 3,13 scheinen allerdings nachgetragen — jedenfalls lassen sie sich *inhaltlich* als Erläuterung des "lauten Geräuschs" (3,12) verstehen; *formal* kann man die Doppelung von *qol ra'aš gādōl* (ein lautes Geräusch) nach dem Kuhlschen Prinzip der Wiederaufnahme⁽¹⁰⁾ deuten: V. 13 wäre demnach eine sekundäre Auffüllung, nach welcher der Text unter Wiederaufnahme von *qol ra'aš gādōl* zu seinem ursprünglichen Zusammenhang zurückkehrt. Damit ergibt sich folgender Text:

Visionsbericht (Ende)

(3,12) Und ein Wind/Geist packte mich und ich hörte hinter mir ein lautes Geräusch, als sich die Herrlichkeit Jahwes von ihrer Stelle wegehob⁽¹¹⁾. (3,14) Der Wind/Geist packte mich und trug mich, und ich ging sehr erregt⁽¹²⁾ einher, denn die Hand Jahwes lag hart auf mir.

IV

Zusammenfassend und ergänzend ist zu bemerken:

1. Das Nebeneinander zweier Zahlen — 30. und 5. Jahr — und die Ankündigung von Vision und Jahwewort im Präskript des Ezechielbuches werden erst verständlich, wenn man Ez 1,1-3,15 in zwei Texte zerlegt, einen *Visionsbericht* und einen *Berufungsbericht*⁽¹³⁾.

2. Der Berufsbericht umfaßt Ez 1,3a; 2,3-3,11.15. Vielleicht kann man, der Analyse von Liwak⁽¹⁴⁾ folgend, Ez 2,3-7; 3,4-9 herauslösen und als

⁽¹⁰⁾ Solche Einfügungen sind gerade im Ezechielbuch häufig, s. C. KUHLE, "Die Wiederaufnahme — ein literarkritisches Prinzip?", *ZAW* 64 (1952) 1-11; LANG, *Ezechiel*, 26,28 f.

⁽¹¹⁾ Ich folge der üblichen Konjekturen *b'rām* (BHS).

⁽¹²⁾ Wörtlich: "stark (*mar*) in der Erregung meiner *rūḥ*", vgl. Koh 7,26 *mar mimwāwāt* "stärker als der Tod", s. C. F. WHITLEY, *Kohleth* (BZAW 148; Berlin 1979) 68 f.

⁽¹³⁾ Diese von LANG, *Ezechiel*, 21 f. vorgeschlagene Interpretation vertritt nun auch KUTSCH, "Die chronologischen Angaben".

⁽¹⁴⁾ R. LIWAK, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Probleme des Ezechielbuches* (Diss.; Bochum 1976) 50-69. Er zählt jedoch Ez 2,2b zu dieser Größe und stellt 2,4a und 2,6f je für sich. Auch seine Annahme, daß Ez 2,2b.3.4b.5; 3,4-9 auf eine deuteronomistische Bearbeitung zurückgehen, teile ich nicht.

thematische Einheit auffassen. Dieser Text wäre Aufzeichnung einer Erfahrung des Propheten, in welcher er, von seinem Gott hart und widerstandsfähig gemacht, die Krise seiner Erfolglosigkeit zu überwinden beginnt. Löst man Ez 2,3–7; 3,4–9 aus dem Berufungsbericht heraus, dann bleiben für diesen noch Ez 1,3a; 2,8–3,3.10–11.15. Der Anfang (1,3a; 2,8) berührt sich sprachlich mit Ez 7,1f:

Ez 1,3a/2,8: *hjh hjh dbr jhwh 'l jhzq'l* (...) / *w'th bn 'dm*
 Ez 7,1/2(15): *wjhj dbr jhwh 'lj l'mr* / *w'th bn 'dm*

3. Wir besitzen keine zuverlässige Überlieferung über das Datum von Ezechiels Berufung. Der vom Herausgeber des Buches vorgefundene Berufungsbericht war undatiert. Das von ihm angenommene Jahr 5 = 593/92⁽¹⁶⁾ ist mit einem Fragezeichen zu versehen.

4. Der Visionsbericht umfaßt, einige Erweiterungen nicht kenntlich gemacht und mitgezählt⁽¹⁷⁾, Ez 1,1.3b–2,2; 3,12–14.

5. Der Visionsbericht datiert vom 5.4. des Jahres 30, das ist der 24. Juli 568 v. Chr.⁽¹⁸⁾ Es handelt sich um die letzte datierte Mitteilung, die wir von Ezechiel besitzen, sein letztes Lebenszeichen. Die beliebte Lesart, die Vision versichere den Propheten – und mit ihm die judäischen Exulanten – am Tag seiner Berufung der “Gegenwart Gottes in der Gottesferne” (des Exils)⁽¹⁹⁾, hat kein Fundament. Erst viele Jahre später, bevor der inzwischen greise Prophet im Dunkel der Geschichte verschwindet, öffnet sich ihm der Himmel und blendet ihn das Licht der Herrlichkeit seines Gottes.

6. Beide Berichte – Visionsbericht und Berufungsbericht –, die der Herausgeber in der schriftlichen Hinterlassenschaft des Propheten vorfand, wurden von ihm auf dasselbe Ereignis bezogen und wie die beiden Sintfluterzählungen oder die Evangelien einer Harmonie ineinander geschoben⁽²⁰⁾. Grund dafür mögen die visionären Elemente des Berufungsberichts gewesen sein (Ez 2,9) und das Vorbild von Jes 6⁽²¹⁾. Auch scheint der Redaktor eine

⁽¹⁵⁾ Entsprechend Ez 21,23f; 22,1f; 27,1f; 37,15f.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Zum Datum s. LANG, *Ezechiel*, 33 f.

⁽¹⁷⁾ Zu möglichen Erweiterungen s. etwa VOGT, *Untersuchungen*, 9,12,15. – Bei meiner Rekonstruktion bleibt schwierig, daß Ez 1,28b–2,2 nicht mitgeteilt wird, was Jahwe zum Propheten sagt. Vielleicht hieß es in der ursprünglichen Fassung nur, daß Jahwe den niedergefallenen Propheten auffordert, sich zu erheben. Ist das richtig, dann wären die zwei letzten Wörter von Ez 2,1 und der Versteil 2,2b als redaktionelle Zusätze zu betrachten. – Daß Ez 3,14 zum Visionsbericht gehört, ergibt sich aus dem Wort *ruḥ*: Der Wind/Geist hat nur in ihm eine Funktion, nicht aber im Berufungsbericht.

⁽¹⁸⁾ Zum Datum s. LANG, *Ezechiel*, 32 f. Unter etwas abweichenden Voraussetzungen errechnet KUTSCH, “Die chronologischen Angaben”, den 5. Juli 569.

⁽¹⁹⁾ So der Titel eines Aufsatzes von A. ÖHLER in: *Bibel und Leben* 11 (1970) 79–89. Dieselbe Auffassung findet sich etwa bei A. BERTHOLET, *Hesekiel* (HAT 13; Tübingen 1936) 9; nuanciert bei K. KOCH, *Die Profeten*, Bd. 2 (Stuttgart 1980) 94.

⁽²⁰⁾ Zu dieser redaktionellen Technik und ihren Voraussetzungen s. H. DONNER, “Der Redaktor”, *Henoch* 2 (1980) 1–30.

⁽²¹⁾ Auf die Analogie von Jes 6 verweisen zum Beispiel ZIMMERLI, *Ezechiel* 35; VOGT, *Untersuchungen*, 22 ff.

besondere Annahme über die Eigenart der ezechielischen Visionen gehabt zu haben: Bei jeder⁽²²⁾ visionären Begegnung mit Jahwe habe der Prophet dieselben Eindrücke empfangen wie bei seiner (angeblich) ersten Vision. Entsprechend konnte er nicht nur generelle Rückverweise auf die Vision am Kebar-Fluß bzw. "in der Ebene" redaktionell einfügen⁽²³⁾, sondern in Kap. 10 auch Einzelzüge und ganze Passagen aus dieser übernehmen⁽²⁴⁾.

Nur an einer Stelle ließ der Redaktor den kritischen Leser unbefriedigt: in der ersten Zeile, wo das dreißigste Jahr zu einer späteren Randbemerkung Anlaß gab (V. 2). Weil der Herausgeber kein Wort seiner Vorlage verloren gehen lassen wollte, findet der moderne Historiker im Präskript den Schlüssel zum Verständnis eines Textes, der fromme Phantasie beflügelt und kritischen Geist herausfordert.

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⁽²²⁾ Mit Ausnahme von Ez 37,1-14.

⁽²³⁾ Ez 3,23; 10,20.22; 43,3 bzw. 8,4.

⁽²⁴⁾ Zur sekundären Angleichung von Ez 10 an Ez 1 vgl. O. KEEL, *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst* (SBS 84/85; Stuttgart 1977) 126-151; VOGT, *Untersuchungen*, 63-71; ferner KUTSCH, "Die chronologischen Angaben".

Merism — Polar Expression in Biblical Hebrew

In memory of my teacher
Mitchell Dahood, S. J.

In recent Near Eastern, and especially in biblical studies, there is a notable increase in the use of the terms "merism" and "polar expression". The reason is on the one hand the generally increasing interest for stylistic-rhetoric devices in modern literary criticism, and on the other hand the appearance of some studies about this particular figure of speech⁽¹⁾.

The existing studies have motivated the present writer to consider this figure within the Hebrew Bible and the North-west Semitic languages⁽²⁾. After a comprehensive definition, description and illustration of merism in general my monographic work on merism treats in alphabetical order all examples of merism which could be found so far. A systematic quest of additional examples of merism in the Hebrew Bible during the following years has disclosed thirty more merisms. These will be treated in the present article.

⁽¹⁾ Cf. H. L. FLEISCHER, *Kleinere Schriften* (Leipzig 1888) II, 691; I. GOLDZIH-ER, *Muhammedanische Studien* (Halle A. S. 1889) I, 268-269: "Schwarze und Weisse" (Excursus V); E. HEINRICH, *Die sogenannte polare Ausdrucksweise im Griechischen* (Progr. Neustadt a. d. H. 1899); E. KEMMER, *Die polare Ausdrucksweise in der griechischen Literatur* (Schanz Beitr. zur hist. Syntax der griech. Sprache 15; Würzburg 1903); A. FISCHER, "Zu Musil's zwei arabischen Inschriften aus Arabia Petraea", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 62 (1908) 280-282; "Ausdrücke per merismum im Arabischen", *Streitberg-Festgabe* (Hrsg. Direktion der vereinigten sprachwissenschaftlichen Institute an der Universität zu Leipzig) (Leipzig 1924) 46-58; H. RECKENDORF, *Arabische Syntax* (Heidelberg 1921) 328-330; J. B. HOFMANN, "Zum Wesen der sogenannten polaren Ausdrucksweise", *Glotta* 15 (1927) 45-53; H. RIESENFELD, "Accouplements de termes contradictoires dans le Nouveau Testament", *ConNT* 9 (1944) 1-21; G. LAMBERT, "Lier — délier. L'expression de la totalité par l'opposition de deux contraires", *RB* 52 (1944) 91-103; P. BOCCACCIO, "Termini contrari come espressioni della totalità in ebraico", *Bib* 33 (1952) 173-190; A. M. HONEYMAN, "Merismus in Biblical Hebrew", *JBL* 71 (1952) 11-18; A. MASSART, "L'emploi, en égyptien, de deux termes opposés pour exprimer la totalité", *Mélanges bibliques rédigés en l'honneur de André Robert* (Travaux de l'Institut Catholique de Paris; Paris 1957) 38-46; E. STRUCK, *Die Bedeutungslehre als Hilfsmittel bei der alt-sprachlichen Lektüre* (Deutsche Akad. der Wiss. zu Berlin. Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaft 19; Berlin 1959) 61-62: "Polare Ausdrucksweise"; H. A. BRONGERS, "Merismus, Synekdoche und Hendiadys in der bibelhebräischen Sprache", *OTS* 14 (1965) 100-114.

⁽²⁾ Cf. J. KRAŠOVEC, "Die polare Ausdrucksweise im Psalm 139", *BZ* 18 (1974) 224-248; *Der Merismus im Biblisch-Hebräischen und Nordwestsemitischen* (BibOr 33; Rome 1977).

There is no need to repeat here all general observations about merism. The most important characteristics should, however, be pointed out in order to limit our special comment to more important examples. Firstly, merism is the art of expressing a totality by mentioning the parts, usually the two extremes, concerning a given idea, quality or quantity⁽³⁾; consequently polar expression is the most usual form of merism. Secondly, merism is substitution for abstract words "all", "every", "always" etc. Thirdly, the mentioned parts have figurative or metaphorical sense; literal interpretation proves to be in many cases totally incongruous. Fourthly, merism should not be confounded with antithesis, for in contrast to merism in antithesis opposed extremes do not express the same aspects of the same idea in its totality, but opposite aspects of the same idea in their mutual exclusion.

- 1) 'ôr "sun" // yārēaḥ "moon": Job 31,26 (cf. Ps 74,16)

The parallelism and the context clearly confirm the meaning "sun" for 'ôr. A similar case is the poetic usage mā'ôr wāšāmeš in Ps 74,16, mā'ôr bearing the conditioned meaning "moon". Meristic function of our verse is not obvious, but in view of the context probable. By mentioning the "sun" and "moon" Job is repudiating the worship of *all* heavenly bodies.

- 2) 'āḥ "fellow — countryman" // gēr "alien": Deut 24,14

- 3) 'aḥārē "behind" // lipnē "before": Job 21,33

- 4) 'ereṣ "earth" // šāmayim "heaven": Ps 85,12

אמת מארץ תצמח

צדק משמים נשקף

Faithfulness will spring up from the ground,
and righteousness will look down from the sky.

'Emet and šedeq being synonyms, this verse most likely expresses the psalmist's faith that God's kindness will be flowing from *everywhere*⁽⁴⁾.

⁽³⁾ Cf. Μερισμός under 5.b. in H. G. LIDDELL – R. SCOTT – H. ST. JONES – R. MCKENZIE, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford 1953): "The art of deviding a whole into its parts"; *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*, under "merism": "A synecdoche in which a totality is expressed by two contrasting parts (*old and young, thick and thin, near and far are typical merisms*)"; A. FISCHER, "Ausdrücke per merismum im Arabischen", 47: "Vorweg möchte ich noch erwähnen, dass, wie in andern Sprachen, so auch im Arabischen in der gewöhnlichen Form des Merismus Begriffe der Gesamtheit oder der Allgemeinheit durch zwei in einem kontradiktorischen Gegensatz zueinander stehende Teilbegriffe ausgedrückt und dadurch energischer betont und gesteigert werden. Die betreffenden Wendungen sind natürlich in der Regel konventionell und formelhaft, und nur in der Dichtkunst scheint hin und wieder eine individuelle, durch den Zwang des Metrums oder des Reimes bestimmte Neuprägung vorzuliegen...".

⁽⁴⁾ In David Kimchi's commentary we find a typical example of a non-meristic interpretation:

אמת מארץ תצמח, כשהיו עושים בארץ המעשים טובים יהיה נשקף עליהם צדק משמים,
כי הגורות יורדות מן השמים לפי מעשה בני אדם בארץ.

5) *b'kôr* "the eldest son" // *šā'ir* "the youngest son": Josh 6,26 (cf. 1 Kgs 16,34)

... בכורו יסדנה

ובצעירו יציב דלתיה

At the cost of his eldest son he shall lay its foundations,
and at the cost of his youngest son he shall set up its gates.

The interpretation of this passage commonly depends very much on its "parallel" in 1 Kgs 16,34:

בימיו בנה חֵיאל בית האלי את־יריחה

באבירם בכרו יסדה

ובשגיב צעירו הציב דלתיה

In his days Hiel of Bethel rebuilt Jericho;
at the cost of his eldest son Abiram he laid his foundations,
and at the cost of his youngest son Segub he set up its gates.

Hence the widely-held literal interpretation and late dating of Joshua's passage⁽⁵⁾. As an exception H. Muszyński has not only luckily perceived in our passage a general poetic usage and hence a figurative sense, but in contrast to 1 Kgs 16,34 he rightly pointed out polar expression in it, denoting the *whole work* of reconstruction and the *whole posterity* of the reconstruc-

(5) Cf. M. NOTH, *Das Buch Josua* (HAT 7; Tübingen 1953) 41: "26 stammt gewiss erst von Dtr, der hier auf ein später noch in seinem eigenen Werk zu berichtendes Ereignis (1 R 16,34) hinweist". A similar striking literal interpretation on the basis of 1 Kgs 16,34 is to be found already in the commentary of Rabanus Maurus, PL 108, 1025: "Patet sensus, quia cum praefatae conditor urbis fundamenta illius ponere inciperet, primogenitus ejus, qui vocabatur Abiram, mortuus est: et cum urbe aedificata portas munire tentaret, novissimum filiorum cognomento Segub amisit".

(6) Cf. "Sacrificium foundationis in Jos 6,26 et 1 Reg 16,34?", *VD* 46 (1968) 259-274, esp. p. 267: "In idiomate poetico verba de fundatione moenium et constructione portarum 'in filiis' restructoris, certe non ad litteram intelligenda sunt. Etenim, utpote duae 'expressiones polares', sese ad initium et finem constructionis referunt et hoc modo totum reconstructionis opus poetice amplectuntur". See also at p. 270 about 1 Kgs 16,34: "Porro aliter ac in Jos 6,26, ubi membra 'fundamenta — portae' 'primogenitus — ultimogenitus', utpote expressiones polares effatum modo translato intelligendum esse insinuant, et ita totam posteritatem includunt, hic e contrario nomina personalia certo certius personas historicas indicant et ita suadent, ut reliqua quoque concrete intelligantur...". See also C. F. KEIL, *Das Buch Josua* (Biblicher Commentar über das Alte Testament II/1; Leipzig 1874) 52: "Die beiden letzten Satzglieder drücken den Gedanken aus, dass der Erbauer der Stadt ihre Wiederherstellung mit dem Verluste aller seiner Söhne vom erstgeborenen bis zum jüngsten herab büßen werde"; H. HOLZINGER, *Das Buch Josua* (Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament VI; Tübingen/Leipzig 1901) 18: "Allein, es ist ein Fluch ausgesprochen, dessen Sinn augenscheinlich ist: wer den Bann verletzt, thuts um den Preis seines Liebsten, er soll nicht etwa nur den Ältesten und den Jüngsten verlieren, sondern kinderlos werden". Similarly C. STEUERNAGEL, *Das Buch Josua* (Göttinger Handkommentar zum Alten Testament I/3,2; Göttingen 1923) 231: "Erstgebo-

tor⁽⁶⁾. In fact, Josh 6,26 is one of the most magnificent examples of merism within the Hebrew Bible, and it might have been first formulated long before the books of Joshua and Kings have been composed⁽⁷⁾.

6) *bāšān* "Bashan" // *mēšulôt yām* "the depths of the sea": Ps 68,23 (cf. Amos 9,3; Ps 139,8)

7) *g'būrā* "strength" // *hālūšā* "defeat": Exod 32,18

F. I. Andersen proposes the following division of text and translation⁽⁸⁾:

איו קול ענות גבורה

ואיו קול ענות חלושה

קול ענות

אנכי שמע

There is no sound of the answering of strength
and there is no sound of the answering of defeat

sound of singing (?)

I hear

On page 111 we find the following valuable observation: "It is not singing in general, but liturgical, or more exactly antiphonal singing that is meant". We may add that "singing in general" might be expressed extremely emphatically through meristic contraposition *g'būrā* // *hālūšā*⁽⁹⁾; our poet evidently wants to say that Moses did not hear just *any* kind of singing, but a very special one, which might have been liturgical or antiphonal⁽¹⁰⁾.

8) *dbr* (Pi'el) "to speak" // *hdl* (Pi'el) "to forbear": Job 16,6

9) *hārīm* "mountains" // *n'ôt midbār* "the pastures of the desert": Jer 9,9 a (cf. Amos 1,2b; Ps 65,13)⁽¹¹⁾

10) *hādāš* "new" + *yāšān* "old": Cant 7,14b (cf. Matt 13,52)

This example of merism was very well perceived and commented by G. Gerleman. Gerleman compares this pair with the pair "yesterday and

rener und Jüngstgeborener stehen nur des Parallelismus wegen; Sinn: es wird ihn sein Liebstes kosten".

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. the very convincing observations in C. STEUERNAGEL, *Das Buch Josua*, 231.

⁽⁸⁾ Cf. "A Lexicographical Note on Exodus XXXII 18", *VT* 16 (1966) 108.

⁽⁹⁾ David Kimchi paraphrases this contraposition very nicely:

לא צעקת המנוצחים במלחמה

ולא קול צעקת המנוצחים

⁽¹⁰⁾ Tg. Neof. speaks directly about an act of foreign cult:

לא קל גברין דנצחין בקרבא אנה שמע

ולא קל חלשין דמתנצחין בקרבא אנה שמע

קל מקלסין בפלחנא נכריה אנה שמע

קל מקלסין.

Similarly Midrash Haggadol; Rashi: "the sound of blasphemy and cursing".

⁽¹¹⁾ These passages are quoted as merisms by M. WEISS, "Methodologisches über die Behandlung der Metapher dargelegt an Am. 1,2", *TZ* 23 (1967) 18.

today" in an Egyptian love-poem and makes the following observation: "Offenbar steht 'von gestern und heute' gleichbedeutend mit den vielen Totalitätsbezeichnungen, die hier erscheinen — 'jeder Art', 'allerlei Sorten', 'allerlei'. Auch an der Hoheliedstelle ist, im Bestreben nach Deutlichkeit, das Ganze in gegensätzliche Teile zerlegt"⁽¹²⁾.

The formulation καινὰ καὶ παλαιά in Matt 13,52 seems to bear exactly the same meaning.

11) *hāzāqā* (*zʿrôa'*) "the strong (arm)" + *nišberet* (*zʿrôa'*) "the broken (arm)": Ezek 30,22

12) *hōreb bayyôm* "the heat by day" + *gerah ballaylāh* "the frost by night": Jer 36,30

13) *hāṭā* "to sin" // *šādaq* "to be righteous": Job 35,6-7

Both verses, 6 and 7, are exemplary synonymous parallelisms, but through the contrast-pair *hāṭā* // *šādaq* they are constructed in a larger meristic unity, expressing emphatically Elihu's solemn declaration that human conduct of *any* kind at all cannot affect God⁽¹³⁾:

אִם־חַטָּאת מֵהִתְפַּעֵל־בּוֹ ...

אִם־צְדָקָה מֵהִתְתֵּן־לוֹ ...

If you have sinned, what do you accomplish against him?...

If you are righteous, what do you give to him?...

Speaking about humans, in v. 8, Elihu reverses the same contrast-pair in antithesis. The Vulgate supplies the best sense of the Hebrew text:

לְאִישׁ־כְּמוֹךְ רִשְׁעִי וּלְבֶן־אָדָם צְדָקָתְךָ

Homini, qui similis tui est, nocebit impietas tua,
et filium hominis adiuvabit iustitia tua

Using the same contrast once meristically about God (6-7) and once antithetically about man (8), Elihu best establishes a fundamental antithesis between God and man.

⁽¹²⁾ Cf. *Ruth. Das Hohelied* (BKAT 18; Neukirchen-Vluyn 1965) 211. See also D. C. SIEGFRIED, *Prediger und Hoheslied* (HKAT; Göttingen 1898) 122: "Sollte sie für den Geliebten alte Früchte aufgehoben haben? Wir haben hier wohl nur eine Umschreibung für den Begriff: 'allerlei'"; K. BUDDE, *Das Hohelied* (Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament XVII; Freiburg i. B. 1898) 41: "Zweifelloos sagt der Vers bildlich, dass die Braut alle ihre Reize, alle ihre Liebesbezeugungen, keusch nur für den Geliebten behütet habe". In contrast to this figurative interpretation, all Fathers of the Church, without any exception, related our word-pair to the Old and New Testament. Cf. THEODORET, *PG* 87, 1738; St. AMBROSE, *PL* 15, 1951; F. M. A. CASSIODORUS, *PL* 70, 1099; St. ISIDORE, *PL* 83, 1130; St. BEDE, *PL* 91, 1205; ALCUIN, *PL* 100, 661; Walaffrid STRABO, *PL* 113, 1164; HAYMO, *PL* 117, 349; ANSELM OF LAON, *PL* 162, 1223; BRUNO ASTENSIS, *PL* 164, 1281; RUPERT OF DEUTZ, *PL* 168, 950; HONORIUS OF AUTUN, *PL* 172, 473; G. FOLIOT, *PL* 202, 1296.

⁽¹³⁾ Cf. G. FOHRER, *Das Buch Hiob* (KAT 16; Gütersloh 1963) 475: "Sein Tun gleich welcher Art — berührt Gott in seiner Erhabenheit gar nicht".

- 14) *ṭāhan* "to grind" // *kāra'* "to bow down": Job 31,10

According to some translations and commentaries 10a bears a sexual meaning parallel to 10b. See, for example, the Vulgate:

Scortum alterius sit uxor mea,
et super illam incurventur alii.

Much more convincing, however, are the interpreters who understand the verb *ṭāhan* in 10a in literal sense: Job's wife may become a slave behind the mill. The whole verse expresses thus meristically day and night activity in total sense: Job's wife may fall a victim to another's violence *throughout*, in every respect. The adequate translation is as follows:

Then let my wife grind for another,
and let others bow down upon her.

- 15) *yāšā'* (Hiph'il) "to lead out" + *bō'* (Hiph'il) "to bring in": 2 Sam 5,2; 1 Chr 11,2

Similar use of the word-pair *bō'* // *yāšā'* in Exod 28,35; Deut 28,6.19; 2 Kgs 11,9; Jer 37,4; 2 Chr 23,7.8 permits to assume at least that our pair in itself indicates the totality of David's military leadership. But the present context allows us to go even further: the pair does not mean just military but the whole range of governmental functions.

- 16) *kābēd* "to come to honour" // *šā'ar* "to come to dishonour": Job 14,21

In chapter 14 Job is talking about man's hopeless fate after death. In v. 21 the climax is reached, for here Job is touching on a man's greatest concern: the fate of his children. He does not know whether the dead in Sheol are honoured or dishonoured, that is to say he has *no knowledge whatsoever* about them.

- 17) *lah* ('ēš) "green (tree)" + *yābēš* ('ēš) "dry (tree)": Ezek 21,3

- 18) *lipnē* "before" + 'ahārē "after": Josh 10,14

lipnē "before" // 'ahārē "after": Exod 10,14

- 19) *nē'ôt hārō'im* "the pastures of the shepherds" // *r'ōš hakkarmel* "the top of Carmel": Amos 1,2 b⁽¹⁴⁾ (cf. Jer 9,9 a; Ps 65,13)

nē'ôt midbār "the pastures of the wilderness" // *g'bā'ôt* "the hills": Ps 65,13⁽¹⁵⁾

A similar meristic poetic figure is to be found in UT, 49: III: 6-7:

šmm šmn tmṭrn
nhlm tlk nbim
The heavens rain oil,
the wadis flow with honey

⁽¹⁴⁾ Cf. M. WEISS, "Methodologisches über die Behandlung der Metapher dargestellt an Am. 1,2", *TZ* 23 (1967) 18: "In unserem Verse aber, in dem 'das Haupt des Karmel' und die 'Triften der Hirten' die Parallele bilden, stehen als Merismen zwei polar verschiedene Sphären einander gegenüber: die der minimalen Vegetation und die der maximalen..."

⁽¹⁵⁾ Cf. H. SCHMIDT, *Die Psalmen* (HAT 15; Tübingen 1934) 122: "... in Tälern und Bergen, allüberall im Lande".

- 20) *sāmak* “to uphold” // *zākap* “to raise up”: Ps 145,14

סומך יהוה לכל־הנפלים

וזוקף לכל־הכפופים

The Lord upholds all who are falling,
and raises up all who are bowed down

The totality of God's care is extended to saving weak people in the whole range between the initial and the final stage of falling.

- 21) *pāraš* “to spread out” // *ksh* (Pi'el) “to cover”: Job 36,30

הַן־פָּרַשׁ עָלָיו אֹרֹר

וְשָׂרְשֵׁי הַיָּם כֶּסֶה

Behold, he spreads out his light about him,
and the roots of the sea he covers⁽¹⁶⁾

There is no evidence that any interpreter assumes merism in this verse. There are suggested rather unnecessary and unconvincing corrections. This situation is surprising, since this verse appears to be a quite clear meristic mode of expressing God's *omnipotence* through the images spread — light // cover — (darkness). The basic contraposition is established through the verbs “to spread” // “to cover”. However, since in first colon appears also the noun “light”, the covering in the second colon very clearly implies “darkness” and so completes the merism.

- 22) *pātaḥ* “to open” // *sāgar* “to close”: Isa 22,22 (cf. Rev 3,7; Matt 16,19; 18,18; John 10,13; Job 38,31)

נִתְּחִי מִפֶּתַח בֵּית־דָּוִד עַל־שַׁכְמוֹ

וּפֶתַח רֹאשׁוֹ סָגַר וְסָגַר רֹאשׁוֹ פֶּתַח

It is quite obvious that all the above-quoted passages have the same meristic function to express the *totality* of authority or power⁽¹⁷⁾.

- 23) *qšr* (Pi'el) “to bind” // *pth* (Pi'el) “to loose”: Job 38,31

הֲתִקְשֹׁר מַעֲדָנוֹת כִּימָה אֲר־מִשְׁכוֹת כִּסִּיל תִּפְתָּח

Can you bind the chains of the Pleiades,
or can you loose the cords of Orion?

The poet seems to have chosen Pleiades and Orion at will as representatives of all the constellations. This is evident in view of the whole context

⁽¹⁶⁾ Cf. *Einheitsübersetzung*: “Sieh, darüber breitet er sein Licht und deckt des Meeres Wurzeln zu”.

⁽¹⁷⁾ Cf. G. LAMBERT, “Lier — délier. L'expression de la totalité par l'opposition de deux contraires”, *RB* 52 (1944) 91-103, esp. pp. 96-103. See also R. MARTIN-ACHARD, “L'oracle contre Shebnā et le pouvoir des clefs, Es 22,15-25”, *TZ* 24 (1968) 241-254, esp. pp. 252-254; H. WILDBERGER, *Jesaja. 2. Teilband* (BKAT X/2; Neukirchen-Vluyn 1978) 849: “Die Schlüsselgewalt, die hier dem Eljakim zugeschrieben wird, geht aber offensichtlich weit über das wörtliche Verständnis hinaus, sie bedeutet Verfügungsgewalt über die Dynastie der Davididen, ihren Besitz und ihre Funktionen überhaupt...”.

and especially of the striking meristic function of the opposed verbs *qšr* // *pth*, expressing Job's total incapacity to influence in any way the course of heavenly bodies⁽¹⁸⁾. Our chiasmically arranged verse is thus a negative assertion concerning the totality of man's power.

- 24) *hārāwā* "the watered (country)" + *hašmē'ā* "the thirsty (country)": Deut 29,18

NEB translates the phrase *l'ma'an s'pôt hārāwā 'et-hašmē'ā* in the sense of merism, but in an abstract way: "but this will bring everything to ruin". A clear observation about the present merism is to be found in S. R. Driver's commentary: "A proverbial expression, denoting *all... watered and parched* alike, all will be swept away together"⁽¹⁹⁾.

- 25) *rāša'* "to be wicked" // *šādaq* "to be righteous": Job 10,15⁽²⁰⁾

- 26) *šēbeṭ* "rod — chastisement" // *ḥesed* "mercy": Job 37,13

The function of this verse is to conclude the previous discussion of wonderful things (6-12) which God performs whether to punish or to bless, that is to say for *any* purpose⁽²¹⁾. In this way is best expressed God's full freedom. In contrast to this verse, in 1 Cor 4,21 the same pair does not bear, however, meristic-figurative sense: Paul is presenting here an alternative and he expects that the Corinthians will not choose *just any* possibility, but the second of the two proposed, thus improving their conduct.

- 27) *šākab* "to lay down" + *qûm* "to get up": Gen 19,33.35

In the account of the desperate expedient of Lot's daughters to preserve their line through their father, we twice find the same reason for excusing Lot's culpability: *w'lo'-yāda' b'sikbâ ûb'qûmâ* — "And he did not know when she lay down or when she arose". That is a magnificent example of merism asserting that *all the time* Lot did not know that the one or the other daughter was laying with him⁽²²⁾.

⁽¹⁸⁾ In view of this poetic-figurative meaning of our verse all realistic interpretations appear most unlikely, though, in fact, they dominate in the bibliography of this verse. In the article of G. R. DRIVER, "Two Astronomical Passages in the Old Testament", *JTS* 7 (1956) 4, we read as follows: "... The context suggests rather the question whether Job like God, can control their (of constellations) supposed seasonal influences; can he prevent the Pleiads ushering in the spring or release Orion from heralding the onset of winter?... God asks Job whether he can prevent the spring-rains and the coming of summer or bring about failure of the autumnal rains and hold back the winter". Recently, A. DE WILDE, *Das Buch Hiob* (OTS XXII; Leiden 1981) 366-367, follows Driver's interpretation taking even a more extreme way: "... das 'Binden, Knüpfen' ist hier aber sehr befremdend... Es handelt sich um jahreszeitlich bedingte Erscheinungen...".

⁽¹⁹⁾ Cf. *Deuteronomy* (ICC; Edinburgh 1973) 325. See also G. GERLEMAN, *Ruth. Das Hohelied* (BKAT 18; Neukirchen-Vluyn 1965) 211: "'Das Getränkte und das Durstende' (als Umschreibung des ganzen Landes)".

⁽²⁰⁾ Cf. G. FOHRER, *Das Buch Hiob* (KAT 16; Gütersloh 1963) 218: "... Er (Gott) möchte Hiob unter allen Umständen schuldig haben... Ob gerecht oder schuldig — es muss ihn treffen!".

⁽²¹⁾ Cf. C. SPICQ, "Une réminiscence de Job XXXVII,13 dans 1 Cor IV,21?", *RB* 60 (1953) 510: "Antithèse entre châtiment et miséricorde résume tous les modes des interventions divines".

⁽²²⁾ Cf. D. KIMCHI: *אפילו בקומה מאצלו לא הרגיש בה מרוב שכרותו*.

- 28) *ša'ar haddāgīm + mišneh* "the Fish Gate" + "the Second Quarter" // *gēbā' ōt* "hills": Zeph 1,10
 29) *ṭḥillā* "beginning" // *'ahārīt* "end": Qoh 10,13

תחלת דברי־פיהו סכלות
ואחרית פיהו הוללות רעה

G. A. Barton comments: "There is progression even in foolishness, that which begins as mere folly may end in criminal madness"⁽²³⁾. However, it is much more likely to assume in *siklūt* // *hōlēlūt rā'ā* synonyms, for the poet is evidently expressing meristically through the exemplary opposition *ṭḥillā* // *'ahārīt* that the words of a fool are *always* foolishness⁽²⁴⁾.

- 30) (*malkē*) *taršīš w'īyīm* "(the kings of) Tarshish and the islands" // (*malkē*) *šēbā' ūsēbā'* "(the kings of) Sheba and Seba": Ps 72,10

In the present universalistic context is the meristic function of this contrasted pair out of the question⁽²⁵⁾?

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⁽²³⁾ Cf. *The Book of Ecclesiastes* (ICC; Edinburgh 1971) 173.

⁽²⁴⁾ Cf. GREGORY OF AGRIGENTUM, PG 98, 1106: Διὰ τῶν ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ τῶν ἐσχάτως παρὰ τοῦ ἄφρονος λεγομένων πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ προφορὰν ἐνδιαβάλλων καὶ κατασκώπτων; ALCUIN, PL 100, 709: "... et initium sermonis illius et finis stultitia est..."; F. DELITZSCH, *Hoheslied und Koheleth* (Biblischer Kommentar über das Alte Testament IV/4; Leipzig 1875) 371; A. KNOBEL, *Commentar über das Buch Koheleth* (Leipzig 1836) 321: "... d.h. alle Reden des Thoren von der ersten bis zur letzten sind entweder albern oder schlecht oder beides zugleich"; F. HITZIG, *Der Prediger Salomo's* (Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament; Leipzig 1883) 289: "Der Thor ist allemal ein rechter Thor"; H. W. HERTZBERG, *Der Prediger* (KAT XVII 4/5; Gütersloh 1963) 194: "Er (Qoh) sagt vom Toren, dass die 'Worte seines Mundes' von Anfang bis zu Ende Unverstand sind".

⁽²⁵⁾ Cf. CH. A. BRIGGS, *The Book of Psalms* (ICC; Edinburgh 1969) II, 135: "In these two syn. lines, which are pentameters, the kings in the extreme West are contrasted with those in the extreme Southeast". See also H. GUNKEL, *Die Psalmen* (Göttinger Handkommentar zum Alten Testament; Göttingen 1968) 306.

A Note on "the Weak" in 1 Corinthians 9,22

The paragraph which comprises 1 Cor 9,19-23 has as its main theme Paul's self-accommodation to the customs of those he sought to win for Christ. The basis for this accommodation is stated at the outset in v. 19: "For though I am free from all men, I have made myself a slave to all, in order that I might win the more". Paul's primary goal in life was to glorify his Lord by winning men and women to the gospel, and this desire dominated everything he did or said.

In discussing his self-sacrificing ambition to gain new believers in vv. 20-23, Paul enumerates three groups to which he, on various occasions, had accommodated his lifestyle: the Jews, the Gentiles, and "the Weak" (οἱ ἄσθενεῖς). Even though he did not always live according to Jewish customs, in order to win Jews Paul became like them and when necessary conformed to the practice of the Mosaic Law. Where Judaism was in direct and open conflict with Christianity Paul was unmovable (cf. Gal 2,4,5); but in situations where his conduct would unnecessarily alienate Jews he did not hesitate to defer to others, as the circumcision of Timothy in Acts 16,3 illustrates.

"To those under the law" (τοῖς ὑπὸ νόμον) is probably another description of the Jews, though the reference is broad enough to include proselytes and other Gentiles who accepted, in part at least, the requirements of the Mosaic Law. While Paul was not under the dominion of this law (μὴ ὢν αὐτὸς ὑπὸ νόμον) and therefore not obligated to observe its rigorous ceremonies, as the occasion demanded he would live up to its requirements if that meant the salvation of a Jew or others who considered themselves bound to its traditions.

The second major group to which Paul had accommodated himself was οἱ ἄνομοι, literally, "the lawless." Paul is speaking of those who do not observe now nor ever have observed the ordinances of the Jewish Law. He must mean the Gentiles who, although they were not without some kind of law (Rom 2,14), did not have a written code of commandments such as the Jews possessed⁽¹⁾. In this case, in order to win Gentiles Paul lived *without* observing the various restrictions of the law of Moses. He hastens to add, however, that though he did not always practice the Mosaic Law he did observe a higher law — the law of Christ (Gal 6,2) — so that he is not ἄνομος θεοῦ ἀλλ' ἐννομος Χριστοῦ.

(1) Thus F. FISHER, *Commentary on 1 and 2 Corinthians* (Waco, Texas 1975) 149; J. RUEF, *Paul's First Letter to Corinth* (Philadelphia 1977) 84; C. K. BARRETT, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* (New York/Evanston 1968) 212.

The apostle concludes his list in v. 22 with the statement: ἐγενόμην τοῖς ἀσθενέσιν⁽²⁾ ἀσθενής, ἵνα τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς κερδήσω ["to the weak I became weak, that I may win the weak"]. In the light of Paul's earlier discussion of believers who possess a weak conscience (8,7-13), it is usually suggested that "the weak" in this verse "are Christians not yet fully emancipated from legalism"⁽³⁾. But if this is true, in what sense does Paul speak of "winning" (κερδαίνειν) them? Barrett⁽⁴⁾ suggests that Paul is using the verb loosely to mean "keep" them in the church instead of forcing them out by wounding their consciences. Accordingly, Paul "became weak" when he abstained from sacrificed food and observed whatever other scruples the weak had⁽⁵⁾. This view, however, destroys the obvious parallel the apostle is drawing with the previous clauses by concluding each statement with ἵνα... κερδήσω, "that I might win [them]". It is unlikely that Paul would have used the expression with reference to the evangelization of non-Christians three times and then, without explanation, use it with reference to the edification or preservation of Christians. More probable in our opinion is the view that the weak are non-Christians, whether Jewish or Gentile, who are powerless (ἀσθενεῖς) to work out any righteousness for themselves⁽⁶⁾. It is useless to argue that because the verb "gain" (κερδαίνειν) is wider in meaning than "save," the weak whom Paul desires to reach can indeed be believers⁽⁷⁾. All four occurrences of κερδαίνειν (9,19.20.21.22a) are defined in v. 22b by the verb σώζειν which expresses Paul's ultimate purpose in regard to all of the classes already mentioned: "I have become all things to all men that I by all means might save some [ἵνα πάντως τινὰς σώσω]". The verb σώζειν here explicitly states what κερδαίνειν can only imply, namely, that Paul's ultimate purpose in accommodating himself to others is the preaching of the gospel and the consequent conversion of non-believers⁽⁸⁾.

Understood in this way, "the weak" becomes a broad and general description of those Paul seeks to win for Christ and encompasses the preceding categories of Jew and Gentile. This interpretation of οἱ ἀσθενεῖς does not

(2) Against P⁴⁶ Sin.* A B 1739, several witnesses (CDFG) add ὡς on the analogy of vv. 20-21.

(3) BARRETT, *Corinthians*, 215. Others who see the weak as Christians are H.-D. WENDLAND, *Die Briefe an die Korinther* (NTD 7; Göttingen 1980) 75; H. CONZELMANN, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther* (MeyerK 5; Göttingen 1981) 199; R.C.H. LENSKE, *The Interpretation of St. Paul's First and Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (Columbus, Ohio 1946) 379-80. H. LIETZMANN (*An die Korinther I/II* [HNT 9; Tübingen 1969] 43) curiously refers to the weak as "Halbchristen"!

(4) BARRETT, *Corinthians*, 215.

(5) So also FISHER, *1 and 2 Corinthians*, 149; F. F. BRUCE, "All Things to All Men": Diversity in Unity and Other Pauline Tensions", in *Unity and Diversity in New Testament Theology: Essays in Honor of George E. Ladd*, ed. R. A. GUELICH (Grand Rapids 1978) 89-90.

(6) Cf. Rom 5,6: "When we were still powerless [ὄντων ἡμῶν ἀσθενῶν ἔτι] Christ died for the ungodly."

(7) So LENSKE, *Corinthians*, 380.

(8) Cf. 1 Pet 3,1: "... so that some, though they do not obey the word, by the behavior of their wives might be won [κερδηθήσονται] without a word".

deny the fact that Paul did indeed, for the sake of the weaker Corinthians, respect their scruples and refuse to eat sacrificed meat lest he burden their consciences (8,13). But the immediate context demands that the meaning of ἀσθενής at 9,22 be subordinated to the main subject of 9,19-23 which is the winning of all men for Christ⁽⁹⁾. Though he was free and independent, Paul voluntarily brought himself under bondage and was willing to accommodate his actions to others if only he might see some of them won to the gospel for whose sake he did all things (πάντα δὲ ποιῶ διὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, 9,23). In view of this emphasis upon τὸ εὐαγγέλιον/εὐαγγελίζεσθαι in 9,12. 13(twice).16(twice).18(twice).23.27, it seems better to modify somewhat the meaning of ἀσθενής than to give a completely different sense to κερδαίνειν.

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⁽⁹⁾ Only if Paul had in mind non-believing Jews who may have held to similar scruples as the weak in Corinth, can the sense of ἀσθενής here be similar to its meaning in chapter 8.

Transformation in 2 Cor 3,18 *

In the doctoral dissertation of J. T. Koenig, the mirror to which the present participle κατοπτριζόμενοι in 2 Cor 3,18 points is the gospel. "All of us... are viewing Christ's glory without distortion in the looking glass of the gospel... and are being transformed..."⁽¹⁾. One need not accept Koenig's exegesis as a whole⁽²⁾ in order to perceive the challenging feature of his paraphrase of this verse. Does the gospel enter into the transformation process of the Corinthians according to Paul? And how should we represent this transformation? The aim of this short study is limited. Only three of the numerous problems which beset 2 Cor 3,18 will be focused upon. First, what is the referent for the expression "the same image" (I)? Second, is the mirror idea still active in the rare verb ("to behold as in a mirror") or does this verb simply mean "to look at, to see"? Or is the meaning "to reflect"? If Paul is thinking of an actual mirror, what does he intend with this metaphor and why does he use it (II)? Third, why does Paul speak here of "transformation" and not of conformation, a motif we find in Rom 8,29 and Phil 3,10 and 21 (III)? As can be guessed from the outset, the three topics are interrelated.

I. The Same Image

In 2 Cor 3,14 with regard to the sons of Israel, Paul states: "To this day, when they read the old testament, the same veil remains unlifted".

(*) A paper given at the Leuven meeting of the Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas (Aug., 1982).

(1) J. T. KOENIG, *The Motif of Transformation in the Pauline Epistles: A History-of-Religions/Exegetical Study* (University Microfilms International; Ann Arbor-London 1971) 159. Cf. M. H. SCHARLEMANN, "Of Surpassing Splendor. An Exegetical Study of Corinthians 3:4-18" *Concordia Journ.* 4 (1978) 108-117: "They [Paul's hearers or readers] can look directly into the splendor of the new revelation as in a mirror. It reflects the glory of the new Moses..." (p. 115). This position, however, is not new; see further our footnote 25.

(2) So e.g., his reconstruction of the pre-Pauline text of 3,18, and of the opponents' understanding of transformation: "Through the allegorical exegesis they were performing, the torah had become a supernatural looking glass which not only revealed Christ's δόξα to them in visions but also transmitted it to their very bodies and minds, transforming them into veritable supermen" (*Motif*, 143). For Koenig, Paul places the accumulation of glory in heaven, not in the body. Glory is essentially future, heavenly, eschatological.

There is hardly any doubt about the expression "the same veil", τὸ αὐτὸ κάλυμμα. To be sure, there is a shift of meaning in κάλυμμα, but τὸ αὐτὸ refers to the veil mentioned at the beginning of the preceding verse: "Moses, who put a veil over his face". At first sight, however, it is not clear to what image the clause in v. 18 refers: "All of us, we are being changed into the same image, τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα". Further, in 4,4 Christ is said to be the image of God, εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ, but no εἰκὼν is explicitly spoken of in the preceding context of 3,18⁽³⁾. What then is meant precisely by the expression τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα?

We know that Paul uses the term εἰκὼν both in a Christological and in an anthropological sense⁽⁴⁾. In 1 Cor 11,7 man is the image of God and according to 15,49 in the same letter, we, the believers, "shall bear the image of the man of heaven (= Christ), just as we have borne the image of the man of dust (= Adam)". In Col 3,10 "to put on the new man" is explained as "being renewed in knowledge after the image of its creator". In all three cases man himself is or becomes the image of God or Christ. But just as in 2 Cor 4,4, already cited, so in Rom 8,29 and Col 1,15: it is Christ who is the image of God. And because of the context of 2 Cor 3,18, one very much suspects that here too the meaning is not only anthropological (we, the Christians) but also Christological: "We are being transformed into the same image", i.e., into Christ, who is the image of God.

The initial problem, however, remains: Why does Paul write τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα, "the same image"? To what previously indicated image does the "identical adjective" τὴν αὐτὴν refer⁽⁵⁾? A threefold consideration may help us in finding a plausible solution. Whether we accept the present middle

⁽³⁾ Cf. W. C. VAN UNNIK, "'With Unveiled Face', an Exegesis of 2 Corinthians iii 12-18", VAN UNNIK, *Sparsa Collecta I* (NTS 29; Leiden 1973) 194-210 (= NT 6 [1964] 163-169): "τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα is difficult; the interpretation generally applies it to Christ, but 'his likeness' has not been mentioned before" (p. 208). C. K. BARRETT, *A Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (Black's NT Comm.; London 1973) 125: "The word *image* is suddenly introduced"; J. DUPONT, "Le Chrétien, miroir de la gloire divine d'après II Cor. III, 18", *RB* 56 (1949) 392-411: "Qu'est-ce à dire, puisqu'il n'a pas parlé d'image auparavant?" (p. 404); N. HUGEDÉ, *La métaphore du miroir dans les épîtres de saint Paul aux Corinthiens* (Neuchâtel-Paris 1957) 28: "Il n'a point été question d'image auparavant"; A. FEUILLET, *Le Christ sagesse de Dieu d'après les épîtres pauliniennes* (EBib; Paris 1966) 145: "L'expression 'en la même image' surprend au premier abord, puisque auparavant il n'a pas été parlé d'image".

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. e.g. E. LARSSON, *Christus als Vorbild. Eine Untersuchung zu den paulinischen Tauf- und Eikontexten* (Acta Sem. Neotest. Upsal. 23; Uppsala 1962) 111-323. On pp. 170-187 he distinguishes between "die messianische" and "die anthropologische Gottesebenbildlichkeit".

⁽⁵⁾ Τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα should, of course, not be confused with αὐτὴν τὴν εἰκόνα ("the image itself"), the expression which occurs in Heb 10,1: "... the law was but a shadow of the good things to come, οὐκ αὐτὴν τὴν εἰκόνα τῶν πραγμάτων". We cannot accept the translation of 2 Cor 3,18 by L. CERFAUX, *Le Christ dans la théologie de saint Paul* (LD 6; Paris 1951) 327: "l'image par excellence", nor his grammatical explanation which sees this accusative as an apposition to the preceding "the glory of the Lord".

participle κατοπτριζόμενοι as meaning "reflecting, mirroring" or — which is more likely — "beholding", the root of the verb contains the notion of 'mirror' and it would seem that together with mirror the idea of mirror-image is present⁽⁶⁾. One reflects or sees in the mirror an image of himself, or of some object or other person. With τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα Paul could thus easily have referred to the image implicitly given in the immediately preceding participle κατοπτριζόμενοι⁽⁷⁾. We are being changed into the same image which we are beholding (or reflecting).

There is a second consideration. The participle of the middle verb κατοπτριζόμενοι is deponent; it is active in sense and here, moreover, transitive. The direct object is τὴν δόξαν κυρίου. We are beholding (or reflecting) the glory of the Lord. Although we are of the opinion that κυρίου in 3,18 is Christ⁽⁸⁾, a position which takes κυρίου as pointing to God would not affect our reasoning in this particular context. Whether κύριος is Christ or God, the glory, at any rate, is that of Christ, since in both hypotheses (whether as "the glory of God" or as "the glory of Christ"), the expression points to God's glory manifested in Christ⁽⁹⁾. What we see (or reflect) is thus Christ who himself is God's glory: it is the glorious Christ. Now, for Paul, 'glory' and 'image', which, strictly speaking, can hardly be pure synonyms, are closely related. In 2 Cor 11,7 man is called "the image and glory of God". To be God's image is to manifest his glory⁽¹⁰⁾! We can thus safely conclude that in 2 Cor 3,18 the reference of τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα is to the

⁽⁶⁾ LIDDELL—SCOTT quote s.v. κάτοπτρον the phrase from PLATO's *Timaeus* (71 b): ἐν κατόπτρῳ... κατιδεῖν εἰδῶλα παρέχοντι. 'Mirror' brings to mind 'image'. Within κατοπτρίζομαι in 2 Cor 3,18 there is, as it were, the unexpressed concept εἰκών.

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. HUGEDÉ, *Miroir* (see n. 3) 28: "... de quelle image s'agit-il, sinon de celle-là même que nous contemplons?"

⁽⁸⁾ To justify this option would require a long discussion of 3,16-17 which cannot be included here. A few remarks may indicate our position. In v. 16, as v. 17a explains, Paul wants κύριος to be taken as the Spirit. In vv. 17b-18 κύριος points to Christ more specifically, not to God, as the use of the distinctive term ὁ θεός in 4,2.4.6 as well as the expressions in 4,4 (τὴν δόξαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, compare with τὴν δόξαν κυρίου in 3,18) and 4,5 (Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν κύριον) strongly suggest.

⁽⁹⁾ Cf. CLEMENS ROMANUS, *Ep. Cor.* I,36,2: διὰ τούτου (Christ) ἐνοπτριζόμεθα τὴν ἁμωμον καὶ ὑπερτάτην ὄψιν αὐτοῦ (God).

⁽¹⁰⁾ Christ as image of God is the revelatory picture of God. See 2 Cor 4,4 where the two terms appear together. Cf. DUPONT, "Chrétien" (see n. 3) 404-405; HUGEDÉ, *Miroir* (see n. 3) 28-29; H. HEGERMANN, "δόξα", *Exeg. Wört. NT* I, 832-841: δόξα "gewinnt... die Bedeutung von 'Abglanz', analog zu εἰκών: der Mann ist Abglanz und Abbild Gottes (1 Kor 11,7)" (col. 836). H. SCHLIER, "Doxa bei Paulus als heilsgeschichtlicher Begriff", *Studiorum Paulinorum Congressus...* I (AnBib 17; Roma 1963) 45-56 = SCHLIER, *Besinnung auf das Neue Testament. Exegetische Aufsätze und Vorträge* II (Freiburg-Basel-Wien 1964) 307-318, writes: "(Doxa ist) das Wesen der Erscheinung Gottes... Sie erweist sich für ihn wie für das AT des näheren als Macht (δύναμις, virtus), Gewicht (βάρος, pondus) und zugleich als Glanz (splendor, claritas, fulgor) oder als das Leuchten und Schimmern (lux, lumen, illuminatio) des sich offenbarenden Gottes. Im ganzen ist die Macht seiner Erscheinung zugleich Glanz und ihr Glanz zugleich Macht, so dass man am besten mit Machtglanz übersetzen kann" (p. 309).

δόξα, the glorious image the believers see (or reflect). Into that same glory⁽¹¹⁾, i.e., into the glorious Christ, the image of God, will they be changed. In 3,18, as in 4,4, the image is Christ, so that here we have a combination of anthropological (we) and Christological uses⁽¹²⁾.

A third argument for the correctness of this interpretation is provided by the expression which follows the main verb "we are being transformed", viz ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν, "from one degree of glory to another". Our becoming the same image of God, our becoming Christ, occurs in process from glory to glory⁽¹³⁾. The connection between image and glory (see above) is here explicitly indicated. Becoming the same image of God that Christ is implies a possession and manifestation of God's glory that Christ possesses and manifests. It means transformation into the same glorious image which we behold (or reflect).

II. Beholding as in a Mirror

The present participle κατοπτριζόμενοι, which stands in apposition to the subject of μεταμορφούμεθα, is weakly and vaguely translated by the English participle "beholding" or "reflecting". One should assume that the sense is causal: it is through vision or reflection that the Christians are being transformed. Moreover, a double difficulty is attached to κατοπτριζόμενοι.

⁽¹¹⁾ Cf. DUPONT, "Chrétien" (see n. 3) 405: "Paul aurait pu dire, semble-t-il, 'à la même gloire', sans modification notable du sens". See also HUGEDÉ, *Miroir* (see n. 3) 29.

⁽¹²⁾ Cf. R. BULTMANN, *Der zweite Brief an die Korinther* (MeyerK; Göttingen 1976) 98: "Dass Paulus nicht einfach sagt: τὴν αὐτὴν δόξαν, sondern τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα, liegt natürlich daran, dass der κύριος und seine δόξα als Gegenstand der Schau, also als εἰκὼν vorschwebt: wir werden in das, was wir schauen, verwandelt werden"; A. PLUMMER, *Second Epistle of St Paul to the Corinthians* (ICC; Edinburgh 1915) 106: "'The same image' means the image of Christ reflected in the mirror"; and HUGEDÉ, *Miroir* (see n. 3) 28-29. VAN UNNIK, "Face" (see n. 2) 209, stresses too much the ecclesiological dimension: εἰκὼν is "that which we all have in common. We all with our different shapes are transformed into one εἰκὼν. This may be that of Christ Jesus... All Christians who reflect the glory are unified in likeness, which is ultimately also likeness with Christ". If "the same" refers to "that which we all have in common", it is not clear where Van Unnik then finds the reference to Christ. This communal meaning in connection with 'all' and 'the same' can be found, for example, in Rom 12,4: "For as in one body we have many members, and all the members do not have the same function".

⁽¹³⁾ Cf. e.g., FEUILLET, *Le Christ* (see n. 3) 144-145. As others have done before him, SCHARLEMANN, "Splendor" (see n. 1) 114, rejects (mistakenly, I think) the idea of "constant progress": "The combination of words indicates sequence: the glory moves from the Lord to us". Cf. p. 118: "(The combination) expresses sequence and not gradation". J.-F. COLLANGE, *Enigmes de la deuxième épître de Paul aux Corinthiens. Étude exégétique de 2 Cor. 2: 14-7: 4* (SNTSMS 18; Cambridge 1972) 123, too, opines that the expression ἀπὸ-εἰς does not form a unit: "Les chrétiens sont donc transformés par la gloire (ἀπὸ δόξης); par une gloire qui leur est actuellement encore extérieure mais qui les entraîne vers la gloire finale du Royaume (εἰς δόξαν)".

Is its meaning 'beholding' or 'reflecting'? And, an equally important question, why does Paul use this rather rare verb?

The deponent middle sense of κατοπτρίζω given in the lexica is (1) look in a mirror; behold oneself in a mirror; (2) behold (an object or a person) as in a mirror⁽¹⁴⁾. It is this last sense which seems to be appropriate for 2 Cor 3,18. The context of our passage is the reason many commentators continue to prefer 'reflect'⁽¹⁵⁾. Vv. 7 and 13 speak of Moses' glory which his face reflects (cf. also 4,6: God's glory on the face of Christ). In v. 12 Paul points to the apostolic boldness, which implies a manifestation, i.e., a reflection of the message of the gospel (cf. the occurrence of φανερώω in 3,3 and 2,14, and of φανέρωσις in 4,2). Since, contrary to Moses' attitude referred to in v. 13, the Christians act "with unveiled face", it is often felt that the sense of κατοπτριζόμενοι is necessarily that of "reflecting". Is this line of reasoning valid? Is v. 18 primarily a statement about ministry and is its immediate context that of Moses' attitude? The addition of πάντες to ἡμεῖς proves beyond doubt that Paul here thinks of all Christians, not only of himself and his fellow missionaries. The Christians in v. 18 are opposed not only to Moses, but also to the sons of Israel who were not able to see (v. 13), whose minds were blinded (v. 14), on whose hearts a veil still lies (v. 15), and who are not turning to the Lord (cf. v. 16). The Christians, as opposed to the Israelites, do see, have no veil, and are in contact with the Lord⁽¹⁶⁾. So it

⁽¹⁴⁾ Under (2) LIDDELL—SCOTT place the reference to 2 Cor 3,18, and add, "but here perhaps reflect". Cf. the lexica of BAUER: "etwas für sich selbst wie in einem Spiegel auffangen, etwas beschauen"; Sophocles: "to see one's self in a mirror, to look (as) in a mirror, *also* to behold anything as in a mirror"; LAMPE: "(1) examine, inspect; (2) a) see mirrored, b) see, behold *simply*; (3) reflect [with many references: this sense becomes common in a later period]". For a short discussion of other verbs with the same root (and same meaning), see HUGEDÉ, *Miroir* (see n. 3) 22, n. 1.

⁽¹⁵⁾ A survey of the defendants of each position is provided by HUGEDÉ *Miroir* (see n. 3) 18, n. 3 (beholding as in a mirror) and p. 19, n. 2 (reflecting as a mirror). Some more recent examples preferring "to reflect": J. DUNN, *Christology in the Making: An Inquiry into the Origins of the Doctrine of the Incarnation* (London 1980) 143-144; M. D. HOOKER, "Beyond the Things that are Written? St Paul's Use of Scripture", *NTS* 27 (1980-81) 295-309, esp. p. 301; C. F. D. MOULE, "2 Cor 3: 18 b, καθάπερ ἀπὸ κυρίου πνεύματος", *Neues Testament und Geschichte. Historisches Geschehen und Deutung im Neuen Testament* (FS. O. CULLMANN; [ed. H. BALTENWEILER; B. REICKE] Zürich—Tübingen 1972) 231-237, esp. p. 236; *Traduction œcuménique de la Bible*; VAN UNNIK, "Face" (see n. 3) 208: "In this context it is pointless to translate κατοπτριζόμενος with 'seeing', it must be 'reflecting'". The position of SCHARLEMANN, "Splendor" (see n. 1), is not clear. He writes on p. 117: "Perhaps it is best to take the word as Chrysostom understood it; namely, 'to reflect as in a mirror'", and rejects in n. 16 Bultmann's version (to see as in a mirror). His own comment, however, contains the idea of seeing: "... Christians have been given the reflected glory of God..." (p. 117); "... all Christians could... gaze upon the surpassing splendor..." (p. 114); "they can look directly into the splendor of the new revelation" (p. 115).

⁽¹⁶⁾ Cf. HUGEDÉ, *Miroir* (see n. 3) 24-33 (discussion of Dupont's thesis) and J. KREMER, "κατοπτρίζομαι", *Exeg. Wört. NT II*, 677-678.

appears that both philological and contextual arguments decidedly favor the meaning of "beholding"⁽¹⁷⁾.

The verb κατοπτρίζομαι is a *hapaxlegomenon* in the New Testament, not found in the Greek versions of the Old, nor in Greek writers before the Christian era⁽¹⁸⁾. Already because of its very rareness it can be presumed that κατοπτρίζομαι in 2 Cor 3,18 most probably retains its original force, i.e., the mirror-notion. The weakened sense of "seeing", which in later Patristic Greek occurs more frequently⁽¹⁹⁾, is extremely unlikely⁽²⁰⁾. All this is definitively established by the study of N. Hugedé. Why then did Paul use this

(17) BULTMANN, 2 Kor (see n. 12) 94, adds the remark: "Der Gedanke einer Verwandlung durch Reflektieren ist nicht gut verständlich, wohl aber der Gedanke einer Verwandlung durch Schauen, und zwar speziell durch Spiegelschau".

(18) Cf. the lexica of LIDDELL—SCOTT, and Sophocles.

(19) Cf. references in LAMPE, s.v. 2 b; and DUPONT, "Chrétien" (see n. 3) 395-396, who cites Anatolius and Origen commenting on 2 Cor 3,18 (and the Latin version already given by Tertullian: 'contemplantes'): κατοπτρίζεσθαι équivalent à peu près alors à κατόπτρομαι (p. 395); and HUGEDÉ, *Miroir* (see n. 3) 22-23.

(20) DUPONT, "Chrétien" (see n. 3) 396, notes: "... par ailleurs, l'emploi de κατοπτρίζεσθαι n'est pas si fréquent que son sens ait été sujet à une grande usure. On ne peut donc présumer que la notion de miroir se soit effacée du verbe dans la II^e aux Corinthiens". HUGEDÉ, *Miroir* (see n. 3) 23, gives the following two reasons: "(1) Nous avons en effet affaire à un verbe peu employé: nous n'en avons guère relevé qu'une quinzaine d'exemples dans la littérature grecque; il est fort peu probable qu'un verbe aussi rare ait subi une grande usure, et ait perdu sa valeur imagée au point de devenir un banal équivalent des verbes κατόπτρομαι, ὁρᾶν, d'ailleurs beaucoup plus fréquents. (2) D'autre part, ce n'est guère qu'à une époque très postérieure, et dans des passages commentant le texte de saint Paul, que nous avons pressenti le sens affaibli du verbe...". Yet, BULTMANN, 2 Kor (see n. 12) 97, after a long discussion asks the question: "Hat also Paulus das κατοπτρίζεσθαι in so abgeschliffenem Sinn gebraucht, dass es nur noch 'schauen' bedeutet, so dass an Spiegelschau überhaupt nicht mehr zu denken ist?" In PHILO, *Legum Allegoriae*, III, 101, Moses speaks: "I would not that Thou shouldst be manifested to me by means of heaven or earth or water or air or any created thing at all, μηδὲ κατοπτρισαίμην ἐν ἄλλῳ τινὶ τὴν σὴν ιδέα ἢ ἐν σοὶ τῷ θεῷ. F. H. COLSON; G. H. WHITAKER, *Philo* (Loeb I; Cambridge, Mass. 1971) 369, translate the last clause: "nor would I find the reflection of Thy being in aught else than in Thee who art God". It is obvious that Philo thinks here of 'seeing in a mirror'. Creation should no longer function as the only mirror for Moses' apprehension of God. The translation offered by G. DAUTZENBERG, *Urchristliche Prophetie. Ihre Erforschung, ihre Voraussetzungen im Judentum und ihre Struktur im ersten Korintherbrief* (BWANT 104; Stuttgart-Berlin-Köln-Mainz 1975) 182, runs: "... ich möchte auch nicht dein Bild in etwas anderm widergespiegelt sehen, sondern in dir, der Gottheit". That of C. MONDÉSERT, *Philon d'Alexandrie, Legum allegoriae I-III* (Les œuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie 2; Paris 1962) 229, is to be preferred: "... puisse-je ne pas voir ta forme en autre miroir qu'en Toi-même, ô Dieu". BULTMANN (p. 97) opines (against Lietzmann) that Philo does not consider God himself as a mirror; he supposes a verb of direct 'seeing' after the ἢ. But Dautzenberg, in his thorough discussion on pp. 180-197 of several Philo-texts dealing with Num 12,6-8 (esp. Spec. Leg. I,45 and 47, and Leg. All. III,101 and 103), stresses, quite convincingly, that Philo does not admit, not even for Moses, a direct vision of God. The perception of God's ιδέα remains a seeing in a mirror (which, for Moses, is God Himself).

particular verb in this context? The reason for this use, it could be argued, lies precisely in the fact that Paul wants to suggest that Christ is the 'mirror' of God. In that mirror we see the glory of the Lord; in Christ we see God reflected in all his glory! According to this explanation Christ is both mirror and image. He is mirror and also a mirrored reflection, an image of God. With such an understanding the use of this rare verb is fully justified. This interpretation would certainly increase in probability if τὴν δόξαν κυρίου means *God's* glory: in the mirror, Christ, we see the glory of God⁽²¹⁾! However, if the Lord is Christ (as we think he is, see n. 8), does our interpretation stand?

In 1 Cor 13,12 Paul writes βλέπομεν... ἄρτι δι' ἐσόπτρου ἐν αἰνίγματι, "now we see through a mirror, in a riddle", and this is contrasted with the eschatological situation "but then face to face". This verse employs Num 12,8, a text which deals with Moses. G. Dautzenberg emphasizes that the seeing in v. 12a belongs to the prophetic experience, that Paul in his rewriting of Num 12,8 adds the mirror metaphor — a traditional motif as can be proved from its occurrence in both Philonic and rabbinic comments on this O.T. passage — and that the mirror motif, by pointing to indirect vision, serves to secure God's transcendence⁽²²⁾. Basically the same idea, now applied to all Christians, is expressed in 2 Cor 5,7: "We walk by faith, not by sight" or, better, "we live in the sphere of faith, not in the sphere of visible form". In 1 Cor 13,12, the mirror comparison serves to point to a provisional and, more specifically, an indirect vision⁽²³⁾. "To see by means of a mirror" is an expression which parallels "to behold in a mirror", κατοπτρίζομαι. Therefore, is it not for the same reason (seeing indirectly) that Paul uses this strange verb in 2 Cor 3,18?

It is a direct vision of the glory on Moses' face which the sons of Israel could not bear: the verb employed in 3,7 and 13 is ἀτενίζω (to look at intently). Again, direct vision is meant by the verb αὐγάζω (to see sharply)⁽²⁴⁾ used by Paul in 4,4: if it had not been for the interference of Satan, the light of the gospel, which contains the glory of Christ, could have been contemplated simply and directly (and in fact is seen in that way by the Christians). It would seem that in 4,6 Paul refers to the Damascus event: there he saw the risen glorious Christ in reality, immediately, and thus direct-

⁽²¹⁾ Cf. FEUILLET, *Le Christ* (see n. 3) 142-144: "Le Christ miroir de la gloire du Seigneur"; BARRETT, *2 Cor* (see n. 3) 125: "What Christians behold is not God, viewed directly: such direct vision is not for this world. They see his glory in a glass... they see not God but Christ the image of God".

⁽²²⁾ Cf. DAUTZENBERG, *Prophetie* (see n. 20) 159-197.

⁽²³⁾ Cf. e.g., H. CONZELMANN, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther* (MeyerK; Göttingen 1981) 378: "... die paulinische Pointe ist die Indirektheit des Sehens, der Gegensatz von jetziger und künftiger Erkenntnis...". COLLANGE, *Énigmes* (see n. 13) 117, wrongly refuses to use 1 Cor 13,12 for his interpretation of 2 Cor 3,18.

⁽²⁴⁾ This meaning should most probably be preferred to 'shine' or 'illuminate'. Cf. FEUILLET, *Le Christ* (see n. 3) 148: "voir clairement"; and BULTMANN, *2 Kor* (see n. 12) 108: αὐγάσαι muss 'sehen' bedeuten, nicht wie gewöhnlich 'erstrahlen'".

ly (cf. 1 Cor 9,1; 15,8; Gal 1,15-16). What is the difference between these passages with their direct vision, esp. 2 Cor 4,4, and both 1 Cor 13,12 and 2 Cor 3,18? The elders saw God's glory on Moses' face; in the appearances of the risen Lord Paul, Peter and others saw his splendid glory; and listening to the Christian message, the believers perceive the light of the gospel. The first two cases are exceptional events; the third is a 'normal' experience. Yet, seeing the light of the gospel, directly, without a veil — the gospel which deals with and even contains the glory of Christ (who is the image of God) —, this seeing is but a mirror procedure. The gospel in itself is not the glory of Christ, nor the risen Lord himself. Seeing the light of the gospel means beholding "as in a mirror" the glory of the Lord. This is not a direct vision of the Lord himself nor of his glory⁽²⁵⁾. The Christians do not (= no longer) see the glory of the earthly or the risen Lord itself, nor is their seeing the eschatological direct vision. They have only a mirror-type reflection of this glory in the gospel. So it becomes evident that this provisional and indirect vision explains why Paul uses the verb κατοπτρίζομαι in 3,18. In 1 Cor 13,12 even the prophetic vision of God remains indirect. In 2 Cor 3,18, a verse which emphasizes so strongly the open seeing of all Christians ("with uncovered face") and the steady growth ("from glory to glory"), Paul does not neglect to point out the vision's indirect character. Thus twice, in 1 Cor 13,12a rewriting Num 12,8 and in 2 Cor 3,18 using Exod 34,34-35 (two texts speaking of Moses), Paul introduces the mirror motif and, it would seem, for the same, already traditional reason.

According to our argument, therefore, we must accept the idea that the mirror motif present in the participle κατοπτριζόμενοι points to the gospel. One should understand this, however, in as broad a sense as possible. "Gospel" means certainly proclamation and listening. But the mirror-type reflection of Christ's glory is equally present in the whole richness of authentic Christian life: liturgy, prayer, and the inner experience of the Spirit, meditation on Scripture, goodness and holiness, and all kinds of charisms and ministrations. "Beholding" is a present participle, the same tense as in the main verb μεταμορφούμεθα. "Beholding as in a mirror" is an actual event, and as such, it cannot be identified with a conversion in the past nor with the future contemplation at the parousia. What then is "beholding"? It is decidedly more than a visual or intellectual activity. It must be related with that existential confrontation which is contained in the preaching of the gos-

⁽²⁵⁾ Already C. F. G. HEINRICI, *Der zweite Brief an die Korinther* (MeyerK; Göttingen 1900) 139: "Denn im Spiegel schauen wir die Glorie Christi, insofern wir nicht unmittelbar ihre objective Realität schauen, was erst im künftigen Gottesreiche der Fall sein wird..., sondern nur ihre Darstellung im Evangelium; denn das Evangelium ist τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς δόξης τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Cf. BARRETT, 2 Cor (see n. 3) 125: "... in fact, what they perceive is the knowledge of the glory of God (iv. 6)". H. WINDISCH, *Der zweite Korintherbrief* (MeyerK; Göttingen 1924) 124, without pointing to the indirect character of our seeing, emphasizes "dass das Moment 'wie im Spiegel' hier keineswegs abschwächende Kraft haben muss und dass keinesfalls das Moment des unvollkommenen Erfassens betont werden darf". However, one could ask whether indirectness is not a form of imperfection.

pel. We are thus confronted with what God did in Christ. We see Christ, as in a mirror, in the gospel and in that specific Christian way of life the gospel inspires. It is also an interior experience of God's active, 'splendid' and forceful presence with us in Christ. Seeing is neither a reward nor a particular, individual consolation. Yet, it has an effect. What kind of change does such a vision bring about?

III. We Are Being Transformed

Paul uses the verb μεταμορφόομαι (which is also found in Mark 9,2 and Matt 17,2 in regard to Jesus' transfiguration) on one other occasion, namely Rom 12,2. In this parenthetic context a transformation and renewal is demanded of us Christians. The change which is brought about in us by the Spirit of God, given thus to us freely, is at the same time a moral reformation which is achieved through much effort, in this life, continually⁽²⁶⁾. In 2 Cor 3,18 too, the verb is in the passive form and in the present tense, but we have a somewhat different nuance in the sense that the ongoing process of transformation is emphasized without explicit reference to the Christian's moral responsibility. Moreover, in Rom 12,2, the Christians have to let *themselves* be transformed, whereas in 2 Cor 3,18, they are being transformed "*into the same image*", which, as we have seen, is Christ. The statement of 3,18 surprises the reader. Is there then an identification with Christ and, on the part of the Christians, perhaps a loss of identity? In Rom 8,29 Paul speaks of the Christians' eschatological *conformation* to the image of his Son, and the same idea is expressed in Phil 3,10 and 21. Why, then, in 2 Cor 3,18 a *transformation*? And how is the present tense to be explained?

Without excluding a possible Christian influence via the (oral) narrative of Jesus' transfiguration⁽²⁷⁾, an immediate reason why Paul here writes μεταμορφούμεθα is certainly the Moses parallel. Just as by contact with God Moses' face was glorified and transformed, so too, by beholding the glory of the Lord the Christians are being transformed. In 2 Cor 3,18 'metamorphosis' has thus to be understood after the model of the change which made Moses' face shine so intensively. Even if the term is a borrowed one, its

⁽²⁶⁾ Cf. e.g., C. E. B. CRANFIELD, *The Epistle to the Romans* II (ICC; Edinburgh 1979) 607: "The use of the passive imperative μεταμορφούσθε is consonant with the truth that, while this transformation is not the Christians' own doing but the work of the Holy Spirit, they nevertheless have a real responsibility in the matter — to let themselves be transformed, to respond to the leading and pressure of God's Spirit. We may bring out the force of the tense by translating: '... continue to let yourselves be transformed...'. The present imperative may be used to indicate that an action already happening is to continue indefinitely... The transformation is not something which is brought about in an instant; it has to be continually repeated, or, rather, it is a process which has to go on all the time the Christian is in this life".

⁽²⁷⁾ Cf. e.g., LARSSON, *Vorbild* (see n. 4) 282-283: "Es stellt sich... die Frage, ob Paulus nicht auch an den Bericht von den drei Jüngern, die auf dem 'heiligen Berg' die Herrlichkeit Jesu erblickten..., anknüpft...".

content has little or nothing to do with a Hellenistic-eastern magic ritual; it is not a privileged mystic deification by vision. Moreover, in a recent publication J. A. Fitzmyer points out that one should not exaggerate the general Hellenistic impact which the use of μεταμορφόομαι betrays⁽²⁸⁾. Passages from the Qumran documents witness to the fact that transformation by vision is a Palestinian Jewish motif.

Together with others, Fitzmyer emphasizes that Paul is not thinking of a mystical union nor complete identification with Christ⁽²⁹⁾. Almost spontaneously commentators tend to use in their paraphrases the *conformation* vocabulary we have in Rom 8,29: the believers are being conformed to the image of Christ⁽³⁰⁾. The change is not so radical that they disappear in that image, nor are they completely taken up in Christ. Indeed, one can confirm that this opinion is a genuine Pauline conception by referring not only to Rom 8,29 (and Phil 3,10 and 21) but also to the anthropological εἰκών passages of 1 Cor 15,49 and Col 3,10. Further, some try to avoid the idea of identity by translating the accusative τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα 'according' rather than 'into'⁽³¹⁾. But this version is, grammatically speaking, less recommendable; εἰκόνα is an accusative with a passive verb⁽³²⁾. Others have even pro-

⁽²⁸⁾ J. F. FITZMYER, "Glory Reflected on the Face of Christ (2 Cor 3:7-4:6) and a Palestinian Jewish Motif", *TS* 42 (1981) 630-646.

⁽²⁹⁾ "Glory", 644: Metamorphosis "is not to be crudely understood... Paul never so expresses it that that person is transformed into Christ himself, as the pagan myths might suggest...". Cf. H. LIETZMANN—W. G. KÜMMEL, *An die Korinther I/II* (HNT 9; Tübingen 1949) 201: "Obwohl II 3,18 die stärkste mystische Formulierung des paulinischen Erlösungsgedankens vorliegt, wird diese Erfahrung doch durch das Wissen um die noch ausstehende eschatologische Vervollendung und um das vorläufige Leben im Glauben (Gal 2,20) begrenzt und ihres eigentlich mystischen Charakters entkleidet" (Kümmel); BARRETT, *2 Cor* (see n. 3) 125: "The believer remains distinct from God".

⁽³⁰⁾ See e.g., HOOKER, "Beyond" (see n. 15) 303: "The image to which we are being conformed"; BULTMANN, *2 Kor* (see n. 12) 98: "Die Meinung ist natürlich nicht, dass wir in ein Abbild des Kyrios verwandelt werden, sondern dass wir seinem Wesen gleichgeartet werden, also auch zu δόξα werden"; HEINRICI, *2 Kor* (see n. 25) 140: "... wir werden so umgestaltet, dass wir dem verklärten Christus ähnlich werden".

⁽³¹⁾ Cf. e.g. KOENIG, *Motif* (see n. 1) 159: "... we are transformed according to the very image...". See the good discussion in PLUMMER, *2 Cor* (see n. 12) 106-107. H. WINDISCH, *2 Kor* (see n. 25) 128, n. 5, writes: "Der brachylogische Gebrauch des Akkusativs erklärt sich am einfachsten aus der Analyse von μεταμορφοῦσθαι μορφήν". But would it not be better in this context to avoid the term "brachylogy"? Otherwise one could too easily add an εἰς or κατά.

⁽³²⁾ Cf. F. BLASS—A. DEBRUNNER—F. REHKOPF, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (Göttingen 1976) nr. 159, 4. G. B. WINER—W. F. MOULTON, *A Treatise of the Grammar of New Testament Greek* (Edinburgh 1882) 287: "... the accusative came to be used with passive verbs to indicate the more remote object...". But compare also A. T. ROBERTSON, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (London 1919) 486: this "accusative seems... to come close to the accusative of general reference, but not quite, for the force of the verb is still felt". P. BACHMANN, *Der zweite Brief des Paulus an die Korinther* (Komm. NT 8; Leipzig 1918) 175, explains: "εἰκόνα ist Akkusativ des inneren Objekts zur Bezeichnung des sachlichen Produktes der auf das persönliche Objekt bezogenen Tätigkeit". É.-B. ALLO, *Se-*

posed an exclusively anthropological understanding: we are being transformed into an image which we ourselves are, an image similar to that of Christ (referred to in "beholding the glory of the Lord"). According to this last proposal, "the same" would not mean an identical image, one and the same, but a similar image, the same in some respects only. This explanation, however, remains contorted and unlikely⁽³³⁾. Is it not to be feared that by such conformation paraphrases and grammatical subtleties, Paul's affirmation in 2 Cor 3,18 will be considerably weakened, and its original point no longer grasped?

In Gal 4,19 we read: "My little children, with whom I am again in travail until Christ μορφωθῇ in you...". The rebirth terminology refers to the Christian's baptism. Paul longs for the return of the straying Galatians. "They must undergo an extra-baptismal formation of Christ within them"⁽³⁴⁾. Here, too, the verb μορφοῦμαι is a *hapax legomenon*. Gal 4,19 "may surely be interpreted as meaning that Christ, the true image of God, is to take form and shape in the believer"⁽³⁵⁾. We might note that Paul himself appears to be a clear example of such a metamorphosis. He had been a fanatical Pharisee, persecuting the young church. His metamorphosis was not only some inner change, nor simply an external change. It was both. In 2 Cor 4,10-11 (part of 4,7-11, where Paul reflects upon the consequences of his apostolic career), he sees the dying (νέκρωσις) and life of Christ present in his body. Obviously, there is no loss of personal identity, and Paul can explain elsewhere the same reality by means of the *conformation* vocabulary. But just as 4,10-11 speaks of Christ present and manifest in ministers, so 3,18 deals with all Christians and their transformation into Christ. A deeper unity, i.e., identity (be it without consequent loss of distinct being)⁽³⁶⁾, is

conde épître aux Corinthiens (EBib; Paris 1937) 96, mentions also an alternative possibility: "L'accusatif... marque... le but du mouvement".

⁽³³⁾ We already mentioned the anthropological-ecclesiological way in which Van Unnik understands the expression "the same image": see n. 12. SCHARLEMANN, "Splendor" (see n. 1) 114, writes: "(The glory) transfigures peoples... by changing them into the likeness of the image of the Lord Himself (v. 18). Paul's proclamation delineated that particular model as worthy of imitation". In FITZMYER's comment ("Glory" [see n. 28] 644): "through that constant subjection to the reflected glory the person is gradually being transformed into a likeness of him", the image that Christ is has become a likeness of Christ that the Christian is! Cf. L. OEING-HANHOFF, "'Der in Gottesgestalt war...'. Erneute Kritik der Einheitsübersetzung", *TQ* 161 (1981) 288-304, who, in opposition to the "Vergötterung und Metamorphose der Mysterienreligion", stresses "dass wir nicht in Christus umgestaltet werden, sondern in sein 'Bild' (2 Kor 3,18). Gott hat uns dazu bestimmt, dem 'Bild' seines Sohnes 'gleichgestaltet' zu werden (Röm 8,29), d.h. sein ihm gleichgestaltetes Bild zu werden..." (p. 293). It is not to be denied that a Pauline idea is correctly stated; however, by the phrase in 2 Cor 3,18 and Rom 8,29 Paul does not point to the image of Christ which the Christians are, but to the image of God which Christ is.

⁽³⁴⁾ KOENIG, *Motif* (see n. 1) 119.

⁽³⁵⁾ R. McL. WILSON, "Genesis 1,26 and the New Testament", *Bijdragen* 20 (1959) 117-125, p. 122.

⁽³⁶⁾ Cf. 1 Cor 15,28: ἵνα ἡ ὁ θεὸς [τὰ] πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ. Here too we must assume that neither Christ nor the Christians are absorbed into God.

indicated more by transformation than by conformation. Our conclusion, therefore, is that in 3,18 Paul intended to explain the essence of Christian life. More than a Hellenistic motif, even more than the working out of the parallel with Moses, it was this profound idea of unity with Christ which guided Paul in the choice of the term μεταμορφόομαι.

The most unusual aspect of this ongoing process of transformation into Christ, the glorious image of God, is its paradoxical character, not only in the minister but in every Christian. Paul speaks of the apostle's actual transformation into δόξα and a manifestation of δόξα which, considered from the outside, in human terms, seems rather to be the contrary: a wasting away of nature, tribulations, illness, sufferings... (see 4,7-18). Such is precisely the dialectical element in our Christian existence; it recalls the striking discontinuity between 'present' and 'future'. It is an anticipated but an already real glory, often a splendor in the form of dishonor (6,8): ὡς ἀποθνήσκοντες καὶ ἰδοὺ ζῶμεν, "as dying, and behold we live" (6,9).

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“Like the Son of God”: Form and Content in Hebrews 7,1-10

Exploration of the Melchizedek theme in Hebrews has proceeded in recent years along two main lines, neither of which may be said to have reached a wholly satisfactory conclusion. The first is primarily concerned with the literary criticism of Heb 7,1-3⁽¹⁾; the second with the status of Melchizedek, and especially with his relation to Christ⁽²⁾.

The purpose of this note is to suggest that the literary and theological questions may throw light on one another; in other words, that the theological significance of Melchizedek for the author of Hebrews may be better assessed if we can see more clearly where the author is speaking on his own initiative, and where he is responding to external pressure.

The *theological problem* is essentially that stated long ago by Tholuck: “Is Melchizedek, for the author of Hebrews, alongside Christ or subordinate to him?”⁽³⁾. The problem becomes all the more puzzling when one observes Hebrews’ generally careful style and composition, and in particular, the pattern of its use of the Old Testament.

Discussion of Old Testament themes in Hebrews is generally marked by a combination of positive and negative elements. On the one hand, there are comparisons which indicate similarities with the new, Christian dispensation; on the other hand, there are contrasts between the two. The relative weight of comparison and contrast varies from place to place, with a general tendency for positive elements to predominate in paraenetic passages, and negative elements in doctrinal passages. As Graham Hughes has put it:

... In the theologically oriented passages... the discontinuity with the old covenant is written large; in the exhortatory passages... the continuity between old and new covenants is such that one might almost think the Christian era had never dawned⁽⁴⁾.

⁽¹⁾ The fullest recent survey is by H. ZIMMERMANN, *Das Bekenntnis der Hoffnung* (BBB 46; Cologne - Bonn 1977) 80-99.

⁽²⁾ See especially F. J. HORTON, jr.: *The Melchizedek Tradition* (SNTSMS 30; Cambridge, U.K. 1976) 152-172. P. J. KOBELSKI, *Melchizedek and Melchireša'* (Washington, D.C. 1981) 115-129 covers both the literary-critical and the exegetical-theological aspects, but without relating them closely to one another.

⁽³⁾ A. THOLUCK, *Kommentar zum Briefe an die Hebräer* (Hamburg 1836); *A Commentary of the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Edinburgh 1842) *ad loc.*

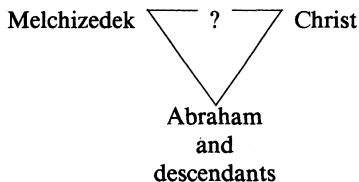
⁽⁴⁾ G. HUGHES, *Hebrews and Hermeneutics* (SNTSMS 36; Cambridge, U.K. 1979) 70.

In paraenetic passages such as 2,1-3; 4,2; 10,28-29; 12,25-26; cf. 11,39-40, the terms of the comparison are God's one people in past and present, so the continuity between them is duly emphasised. In doctrinal passages, where Old Testament individuals or institutions are contrasted with Christ and the new covenant, positive elements of comparison serve largely to establish a *tertium comparationis* in beliefs and assumptions shared by the author and his readers.

For example, in the discussion of Jesus and Moses (3,2-5), comparison is almost entirely confined to v. 2 (πιστόν... ὡς καὶ Μωϋσῆς), while contrast predominates in the rest of the passage (πλείονος... οὗτος δοξῆς παρὰ Μωϋσῆς ἡξίωται..., v. 3; Μωϋσῆς μέν... /Χριστὸς δέ..., vv. 5-6). In other such comparisons, despite variation in detail, the same basic pattern is followed either in the immediate or in the wider context: comparison provides a foundation for contrast, but it is the contrast which matters. In chapter 1, the element of comparison is reduced to the fact that God speaks both to the Son, and collectively to the angels, in order to assign appropriate titles, status, and functions. In chapter 5, positive comparison between Christ and levitical high priests is sustained as far as v. 5 (πᾶς... ἀρχιερεὺς /οὕτως καὶ ὁ Χριστός, vv. 1-5); but when the author finally returns to this theme in chapter 8, it is to make even more emphatic contrastive statements about the superiority of the new, "more excellent" (8,6) covenant, as opposed to the inadequacy (8,7) and obsolescence (8,12) of the old.

The pattern is repeated in the following chapters: Old Testament liturgical objects (9,1-5) and actions (9,6-7), however impressive in themselves, are mere ὑποδείγματα (9,23) or ἀντίτυπα (9,24), a mere σκία (10,1) of Christ's perfect ministry and sacrifice. Similarly in chapter 10: πᾶς μὲν ἱερεὺς/οὗτος (sc. Χριστὸς) δέ... (vv. 11-12). In the end, Christ stands alone, over against all Old Testament realities.

Melchizedek alone will not fit into this pattern. As nowhere else in the epistle, there are not two terms in the comparison but three: Melchizedek, Abraham (including Levi and his descendants, 7,5.6.9, and by implication Aaron, v. 11), and Christ. Melchizedek's higher status is contrasted with that of Abraham; Christ's higher status is contrasted with that of Abraham's descendants; but the comparison between Melchizedek and Christ is defined no further than by saying that Melchizedek is ἀφωμοιωμένος... τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ, v. 3 b, and indirectly by separate statements that both are (eternally) alive (ζῆν, v. 8, of Melchizedek; κατὰ δύναμιν ζωῆς ἀκαταλύτου, v. 16, of Christ). The situation could be summed up in the following diagram:



The difficulty is not merely that there is no other such threeterm comparison in Hebrews: such an argument from silence, in the case of a single

epistle, would be very weak. The point is that the argument is intrinsically awkward, and the wider context suggests that the author was aware of the fact. Of the three terms of comparison, Christ is logically superfluous in vv. 1-10, where he is mentioned only in passing in v. 3 b; while Melchizedek is logically superfluous in vv. 11-19, where he is mentioned only in the phrases κατὰ τὴν τάξιν/ὁμοιότητα Μελχισέδεκ⁽⁵⁾, and clearly from v. 20 onwards, where he is not mentioned at all.

A. T. Hanson's solution of the problem is simple but speculative:

Melchisedech is identical with Christ... The author believed that Melchisedech was the pre-existent Christ, [but] did not say so... because he did not quite have the courage to do so. It was too strong meat for his hearers. He hints in 5,11 that he would like to say a lot about Melchisedech, and that it would take a good deal of explanation. He would perhaps prefer his readers to draw for themselves the conclusion that he was aiming at⁽⁶⁾.

This reconstruction of the situation can certainly not be disproved. The author evidently believed in the pre-existence of Christ (e.g. 1,2), and there is nothing inherently impossible in supposing that the author believed Christ to have done something between creation and the incarnation. A. T. Hanson claims, with varying degrees of persuasiveness, that 3,1-6; 4,1-9; 11,24-28 and 12,22-27 may be understood in this way. It is also typical of the author to introduce motifs which are not developed immediately (Christ as ἀρχιερεύς, 2,17; κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισέδεκ, 5,6.10), and occasionally not developed at all (Christ as ἀπόστολος, 3,1). What is difficult to conceive is that he should leave his readers to chew the "strong meat" for themselves — if indeed the identification of Melchizedek and Christ was "the conclusion that he was aiming at". The "strong meat" is surely the author's distinctive teaching about the significance of Christ's high priesthood and sacrifice; and this he will develop throughout chapters 8-9, the central theological section of the epistle⁽⁷⁾.

The problem of Melchizedek's status, and in particular the meaning of ὁφωμοιωμένος... τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ, thus remains. It is a secondary matter whether the participle is to be translated with verbal force ("made like", sc. by God, cf. ἐθῆκεν, 1,2, and a similar thought in 5,6) or adjectivally ("like"), as in the one Septuagintal occurrence, EpJer 63. The author's failure to develop the statement suggests the latter, but the main issue is unaffected. Nor is it as significant as has sometimes been supposed⁽⁸⁾ that here, Melchizedek is compared to Christ, and not vice versa, since elsewhere, where the

⁽⁵⁾ Κατὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα Μελχισέδεκ in 7,15 is probably a stylistic variant for κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισέδεκ, a phrase which the author has used, other than in explicit quotation of Ps 110,4, in 5,10 and 6,20. The evidence for F. J. Horton's statement that ὁμοιότης in itself, independently of the context, "includes the idea of recapitulation" (*Melchizedek Tradition* 161), is slight.

⁽⁶⁾ A. T. HANSON, *Jesus Christ in the Old Testament* (London 1965) 70-71.

⁽⁷⁾ A. VANHOYE, *La structure littéraire de l'épître aux Hébreux* (Bruges - Paris 1974) 138-160, 386-9; cf. L. DUSSAUT, *Synopse structurale de l'épître aux Hébreux* (Paris 1981) 66-83.

⁽⁸⁾ E.g. by KOBELSKI, *Melchizedek*, 125.

immediate theme is not Melchizedek but Christ, the comparison goes in the opposite direction, Christ being called a "high priest like Melchizedek"⁽⁹⁾. Attempts to assimilate Melchizedek in Hebrews to the angelic figure of 11QM^{elch}⁽¹⁰⁾ create more problems than they solve; if the author of Hebrews had thought of Melchizedek in this way, it would have been necessary for him either to contrast Melchizedek with Christ, or destroy the whole argument of chapter 1. Attempts, at the other extreme, to reduce Melchizedek to the lesser term of a typological contrast or a *qal wahomer/a fortiori* argument have no basis in the language or thought of the passage, which simply cannot be forced into the normal pattern of the author's use of the Old Testament⁽¹¹⁾. It would require extensive rewriting to make these verses say: "Christ is as much greater than Melchizedek as Melchizedek is greater than Abraham". Whatever ἀφωμοιωμένος means, it cannot mean that⁽¹²⁾.

Exegesis of Heb 7,1-10, even in the wider context of the epistle, thus offers no satisfactory solution to the problem of the status of Melchizedek. On internal evidence alone, the most one can say is that the author was led back from Ps 110,4 to Gen 14,17-20, the only other Old Testament reference to Melchizedek, but then did not really know what to do with him, and dropped him as soon as his peripheral usefulness for the argument was exhausted. Kobelski modestly concludes⁽¹³⁾ that the author has "a very limited purpose" in introducing Melchizedek: "to show (1) that the priesthood of Jesus was superior to the levitical priesthood, and (2) that the priesthood of Jesus was eternal". Horton convincingly explains some of Hebrews' statements about Melchizedek on the basis that, as the first priest mentioned in the Torah, he was believed to be the first priest who ever lived⁽¹⁴⁾. Such statements are correct as far as they go; but one is left asking why so careful a writer as the author of Hebrews should create unnecessary problems by using Melchizedek in chapter 7 to demonstrate a thesis which he supports by far more powerful arguments in chapters 8-9, without reference to Melchizedek.

⁽⁹⁾ KOBELSKI, *Melchizedek*, 118, sees the use of ὁμοιότης in 7,15 as evidence that "no technical meaning was attached to *taxin*"; similarly P. ELLINGWORTH, "Just like Melchizedek", BT 28 (1977) 236-239.

⁽¹⁰⁾ So M. DE JONGE and A. S. VAN DER WOUDE, "11Q Melchizedek and the New Testament", NTS 12 (1966) 301-326; J. FITZMYER, "Further Light on Melchizedek from Qumran Cave 11", JBL 86 (1967) 25-41, and HORTON, *Melchizedek* 155, disagree.

⁽¹¹⁾ F. SCHRÖGER, *Der Verfasser des Hebräerbriefes als Schriftausleger* (Regensburg 1968) 143-153, 258 on 7,4-20; "Das hermeneutische Instrumentarium des Hebräerbriefverfassers", TGl 60 (1970) 430-459 = J. ERNST (ed.), *Schriftauslegung* (Munich - Paderborn - Vienna 1972) 313-329, especially 322-323 on 7,2.4.

⁽¹²⁾ Horton's statement: "The phrase ἀφωμοιωμένος δὲ τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ does not create subordination; it assumes subordination" is not based on the language of v. 3b itself. Δέ is indeed adversative, but the contrast is between the negative statements about Melchizedek in v. 3a and the positive statements in v. 3b, not between statements about Melchizedek and someone else.

⁽¹³⁾ KOBELSKI, *Melchizedek*, 129.

⁽¹⁴⁾ HORTON, *Melchizedek Tradition*, 157.

Light on this unresolved problem may be sought by examining some⁽¹⁵⁾ of the recent studies of the *literary form and provenance* of Heb 7,1-3; other verses, especially v. 26, are sometimes drawn into the discussion.

At first sight, the search does not seem promising. There is clear evidence of traditions, older than or contemporary with Hebrews, which showed interest in the figure of Melchizedek, and which at times went far beyond the biblical evidence⁽¹⁶⁾. There is less evidence, and correspondingly less agreement, about whether such traditions crystallised in particular texts, possibly a hymn, which could underlie part of Heb 7,1-3. The literary-critical evidence for the use of an extra-biblical *Vorlage* is difficult to assess, and the literary genre of such a *Vorlage* is more problematical still. The style of these verses has rhetorical but not necessarily poetic features, even bearing in mind the flexible form of primitive Christian hymns and other hymns of the period⁽¹⁷⁾.

It is therefore not surprising that reconstructions of the hymn differ. Deichgräber⁽¹⁸⁾ and Schröger⁽¹⁹⁾, for example, deny the presence of any hymnic material. It is true that such passages as 1,1-4; 4,12-13; 12,1-2.18-24; 13,20-21 amply illustrate the presence in the epistle of eloquent and rhythmic material, virtually indistinguishable from the material claimed as hymnic in other parts of the New Testament. To assign all these passages to *Vorlagen* would be to risk arguing in a circle. Zimmermann notes differences between 7,1-4 and other New Testament hymns:

Er beginnt nicht mit ὅς, sondern mit οὗτος, er beschreibt nicht den Erlöserweg Christi (vgl. Phil 2,6-11; Kol 1,15-20; 1 Tim 3,16; Joh 1,2-17; Hebr 1,3; 5,7-10), sondern besteht im wesentlichen aus Prädikationen, die nur in der letzten Zeile in eine verbale Aussage ausmünden⁽²⁰⁾.

Michel identifies v. 3 as a four-lined stanza⁽²¹⁾. Schille⁽²²⁾, followed by Jewett⁽²³⁾, finds three three-lined strophes in vv. 1a (to πρῶτον), 2b (from ὑψίστου) and 3 (omitting ἀφωμοιωμένος δὲ τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ). Nomoto⁽²⁴⁾ considers vv. 1-2a to be the author's summary of the Genesis passage, and

⁽¹⁵⁾ For a fuller survey, see ZIMMERMANN, *Bekenntnis*, 80-99.

⁽¹⁶⁾ HORTON, *Melchizedek Tradition* 54-86, discusses PHILO, *Legum Allegoriae* III §§ 79-82; *De Congressu* § 99; *De Abrahamo* § 235; 1QApGen and 11QMelch; JOSEPHUS, *War* vi § 438 and *Antiquities* i § 179-181. He later, 114-130, examines rabbinic sources, some of which may contain material as old as Hebrews.

⁽¹⁷⁾ E. NORDEN, *Agnostos Theos*. Untersuchungen zur Formgeschichte religiöser Rede (Darmstadt 1974) 177-201.

⁽¹⁸⁾ R. DEICHGRÄBER, *Gotteshymnus und Christushymnus in der frühen Christenheit* (Göttingen 1967) 176-178.

⁽¹⁹⁾ SCHRÖGER, *Verfasser*, 142.

⁽²⁰⁾ ZIMMERMANN, *Bekenntnis*, 94.

⁽²¹⁾ O. MICHEL, *Der Brief an die Hebräer* (MeyerK; Göttingen 1975) *ad loc.*

⁽²²⁾ G. SCHILLE, "Erwägungen zur Hohepriesterlehre des Hebräerbriefes", *ZNW* 46 (1955) 85-87.

⁽²³⁾ R. JEWETT, *Letter to Pilgrims* (New York 1981) 118.

⁽²⁴⁾ S. NOMOTO, *Die Hohepriester-Typologie im Hebräerbrief* (Hamburg 1966) 126.

vv. 2b-3 as based on an extra-biblical *Vorlage*. Theissen⁽²⁵⁾ arbitrarily transfers κατὰ δυνάμιν ζωῆς ἀκαταλύτου from v. 16 to replace ἀφωμοιωμένος δὲ τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ; he also eliminates from the hymn the etymologies in v. 2, as being academic rather than poetic, and adds to the hymn parts of vv. 25-26. Zimmermann identifies the etymologies as traditional though not necessarily hymnic, and inserts v. 26b (from ὁσιος) before the final line of the hymn, μένει ἱερὺς εἰς τὸ διηνεκές (v. 3). No reason for the transposition is given, and in any such process, there is a danger of selecting any elements which will combine to make a coherent poem. Zimmermann finally advances the complex thesis that the hymn was originally about the exaltation of Christ, but that the author of Hebrews first dissolves this setting, and then partially restores it by the addition of ἀφωμοιωμένος δὲ τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ⁽²⁶⁾.

Despite this scholarly disarray, the possibility of a traditional, even hymnic element in vv. 1-3 is not to be entirely discounted, though the evidence falls far short of proof. Such a hypothesis would help to account for a number of otherwise problematical factors: (a) the greater smoothness of style and construction which is obtained if the biblical material of vv. 1b-2a (ὁ συναντήσας . . . ἐμέρισεν Ἀβραάμ), and the traditional etymologies of v. 2b, are omitted; (b) the unemphatic and unexplained reference in v. 3b to the Son of God, which could be the author's insertion into a hymnic *Vorlage*; and especially (c) the ambivalent status of Melchizedek discussed above.

The hymn itself could thus tentatively be reconstructed as follows:

Οὗτος ὁ Μελχισέδεκ
 βασιλεὺς Σαλήμ,
 ἱερὺς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου
 ἀπάτωρ, ἀμήτωρ, ἀγενεαλόγητος
 μήτε ἀρχὴν ἡμερῶν
 μήτε ζωῆς τέλος ἔχων
 μένει ἱερὺς εἰς τὸ διηνεκές.

There is nothing in this to require a Christian origin. The author's original interest in the hymn may have been aroused by its suggestion (especially when read in conjunction with Ps 110,4) of a priesthood distinct from, and earlier than, that of the levitical priests. The author's own re-reading of the Genesis passage could have led to the insertion of vv. 1b-2a. The midrashic development in vv. 4-10 is based on vv. 1-3 in their present form, but shows generally greater interest in the Genesis narrative than in the underlying hymn.

By combining the exegetical and literary-critical evidence, it is thus possible to reach a general view of the circumstances in which Heb 7,1-3 was composed.

⁽²⁵⁾ G. THEISSEN, *Untersuchungem zum Hebräerbrief* (SNT 2; Gütersloh 1969) 20-25.

⁽²⁶⁾ ZIMMERMANN, *Bekenntnis*, 99.

Two main influences led the author towards the figure of Melchizedek. The first was his own exploration of Scripture. Beginning with the widespread christological understanding of Ps 110,1, he discovered fresh meaning in the priesthood κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισέδεκ of Ps 110,4, and was thus led back to Gen 14,17-20. The second influence came from outside. It was the pressure of non-biblical, probably non-Christian, interest in Melchizedek, one product of which may have been a hymn. The evidence suggests either (1) that these non-biblical traditions reached the author in a more restrained form than in 11QMelch, or (2) that the author himself removed speculative elements from the tradition as he received it. A final choice is impossible, but the first alternative is to be preferred as the simpler.

Both these influences can be seen in the resultant mosaic of Heb 7,1-3. As the following verses confirm, the author did not merely juxtapose them; as a creative writer and theologian, he modified them both. Most of the modifications of the Genesis passage are probably no more than skilful condensation; the omission of the words "he brought out bread and wine" from Gen 14,18 may be more significant, as showing a desire to avoid any suggestion of Melchizedek's serving Abraham, or offering him a reciprocal gift.

We may suppose that the author similarly modified his secondary, extra-biblical *Vorlage*. Evidence of modification by transposition, and still more by omission, is too slight for us to speak with any confidence. Modifications by insertion are a different matter. The etymologies do not belong in a hymn, and there is firm evidence⁽²⁷⁾ that they did not originate with Hebrews. The author does not develop them, nor does he show any interest in similar etymologies elsewhere.

The words ἀφωμοιωμένος δὲ τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ may be understood in either of two ways.

The easier but ultimately weaker hypothesis is to assume that the author is continuing to quote the *Vorlage*, in which case he would be using borrowed language for which he was not personally responsible⁽²⁸⁾. On the one hand, it would be in keeping with his style to continue a quotation until it reached a climax of importance to his argument, as in 8,8-12 = Jer 31,31-34. On the other hand, one might expect him to omit a line which caused problems, as in the shorter reading of 2,7 = Ps 8,6. The evidence is inconclusive.

The more difficult but probably stronger hypothesis is that the author is indeed responsible for the words ἀφωμοιωμένος δὲ τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ; that he added them in order to provide a minimum of Christian comment on a non-Christian hymn; but that he refrained from expanding them in order to preserve the flow of the hymn, and maintain the force of its climax, μένει ἱερὸς εἰς τὸ διηνεκές. On either hypothesis, the author's argument is momentarily distorted by extraneous forces, as Neptune distorts the orbit of Uranus.

⁽²⁷⁾ Cf. PHILO, *Legum Allegoriae* III § 79; JOSEPHUS, *War* vi § 438; *Antiquities* i § 180.

⁽²⁸⁾ It is slight evidence in support of this view that ἀφομοιοῦμαι is not used elsewhere in the epistle, or indeed in the New Testament.

The distortion is fully overcome in the midrash of vv. 4-10; and by v. 11, the author is ready to gather up once more, with a firm εἰ μὲν οὖν, the threads of his main, christological, argument.

What, then, is the answer to Tholuck's question? Is Melchizedek in Hebrews "alongside Christ" or "subordinate to him"? The question is one which the author of Hebrews never raises, so any answer to it must contain elements of speculation. The speculation is at its maximum if we are required to think of Melchizedek as a being distinct from but co-equal with Christ. The overwhelming weight of the epistle's theology, not to mention the rest of New Testament tradition, is against such a supposition, and the language of Heb 7,3 does not require it. The theory of an implicit identification between Melchizedek and Christ is less alien to the epistle, but the evidence, as we have suggested, falls short of conviction, and the theory itself appears to arise from a desire to impose on the material a neater theological pattern than it in fact possesses. If Tholuck had been able to put his question directly to the author of Hebrews, the author would no doubt have chosen the second alternative: Melchizedek is subordinate to Christ. Yet this is not what the author is saying on his own initiative, even by implication. The author appears to be addressing readers acquainted with biblically-based, non-Christian speculation about Melchizedek, and what he is saying to them may be paraphrased as follows: "You find Melchizedek a great and fascinating figure, and you are right. He reminds us Christians of the Son of God himself. He is in any case greater than Abraham and everything which Abraham inaugurated. Thus Scripture itself points to something higher, and incidentally even older, than the old dispensation which is now superseded in Christ".

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Esprit éternel et feu du sacrifice en He 9,14

Dans la phrase où il définit le sacrifice personnel du Christ (He 9,14), l'auteur de l'épître aux Hébreux emploie une expression inhabituelle: διὰ πνεύματος αἰωνίου⁽¹⁾. Hapax biblique, cette expression suscite évidemment des discussions. Comment faut-il comprendre cet «Esprit éternel» par lequel le Christ «s'offrit à Dieu comme victime sans tache»? S'agit-il de l'Esprit Saint? ou de la divinité du Christ? ou d'une certaine disposition d'esprit⁽²⁾? Plutôt que de reprendre directement cette question, le présent article voudrait l'éclaircir de manière indirecte, en cherchant si le rôle attribué ici à l'Esprit éternel ne correspond pas à celui que tenait, dans les sacrifices anciens, le feu de l'autel⁽³⁾.

1. Le rapprochement entre Esprit et feu est suggéré par Jean Chrysostome, qui donne à l'expression de He 9,14 ce bref commentaire: «L'expression *par Esprit Saint* indique que ce n'est pas par le feu qu'il a été offert ni par quelque autre moyen»⁽⁴⁾. La remarque, on le voit, est négative. Chrysostome se

(1) C'est la leçon des meilleurs manuscrits (Sin.*, A, B) et du plus grand nombre. Une variante existe, avec αἰῶνιου à la place de αἰωνίου, mais son attestation est beaucoup plus faible. Retour à une expression courante, elle constitue une *lectio facilior* et n'est pas retenue par les critiques.

(2) Ces trois interprétations sont soutenues de nos jours. La première était celle de l'exégèse ancienne. Elle allait de soi pour ceux qui, tel Chrysostome, lisaient αἰῶνιου ou, en latin, «*sanctum*» (leçon de la Vulgate). Son représentant actuel le plus autorisé est O. MICHEL, *Der Brief an die Hebräer* (KEK 13; Göttingen 1966) 314: «Der 'ewige' Geist ist Umschreibung für den 'Heiligen' Geist (= er hat Anteil an die Ewigkeit Gottes).» La deuxième a été inaugurée au XVI^e s. par H. BULLINGER, *In omnes Epistolas Pauli* (Zurich 1544) 700: «Per spiritum aeternum veram in Christo divinitatem, notatione quadam periphrastica, voluit notare». Souvent reprise depuis, elle l'est en particulier par C. SPICQ, *L'épître aux Hébreux* (EBib; Paris 1953) II, 258. Pour la troisième interprétation, on peut citer J. BONSIRVEN, *Saint Paul. Épître aux Hébreux* (VS; Paris 1943) 391: «Il convient que l'expression désigne une disposition intérieure du Christ».

Pour plus de détails à ce sujet, voir J. J. McGRATH, «*Through the Eternal Spirit*». An Historical Study of the Exegesis of Hebrews 9: 13-14 (Univ. Grégorienne; Rome 1961).

(3) Une étude très intéressante a été faite à ce sujet par L. DI PINTO, *Volontà di Dio e legge antica nell'Epistola agli Ebrei* (Napoli 1976) 64-70. Le présent article prend un chemin différent et complémentaire.

(4) Τὸ διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου δηλοῖ ὅτι οὐ διὰ πυρὸς προσήνεκται οὐδὲ δι' ἄλλων τινῶν. J. CHRYSOSTOMUS, *Enarratio in Epistolam ad Hebraeos*, PG 63, 120.

contente d'indiquer ce que, selon lui, l'expression exclut comme moyen employé pour l'oblation du Christ.

Son exégèse est reprise plus tard, avec une précision intéressante, dans la chaîne du Pseudo-Écumenius, où l'on trouve la phrase suivante: «*Qui par Esprit*: non en brûlant par le feu comme les génisses dans l'Ancienne [Alliance], mais en offrant par Esprit Saint»⁽⁵⁾. La précision ajoutée, «comme les génisses dans l'Ancienne Alliance», est visiblement inspirée du verset précédent de l'épître (He 9,13), qui appartient à la même phrase que He 9,14. Dans ce verset 13, l'auteur de l'épître mentionne, après le «sang de boucs et de taureaux», la «cendre de génisse» (σποδὸς δαμάλεως) et il rappelle que, selon la Loi de Moïse, l'aspersion de cette cendre sur «ceux qui ont été souillés» les «sanctifie en ce qui concerne la pureté de la chair». La valeur reconnue à ce rite lui sert aussitôt de base pour un argument *a fortiori*, qui fait ressortir l'efficacité bien plus grande du sang du Christ, fondée sur son offrande «par Esprit éternel». Tous les commentateurs reconnaissent que la mention de la «cendre de génisse» constitue une allusion au rituel de préparation de l'eau lustrale (Nb 19,1-10), où se trouve la même expression (Nb 19,9) et qui prescrit le rite d'aspersion (ῥαντισμός: 19,9.13.20.21).

Le mérite du Ps.-Écumenius est d'avoir suggéré que le commentaire de Chrysostome, «non par le feu», trouve un appui implicite dans le texte même de l'épître, la mention de la «cendre» en He 9,13 impliquant, de toute évidence, l'utilisation du feu. Effectivement, le Livre des Nombres prescrit de brûler complètement la génisse; il emploie à trois reprises le verbe «brûler» (Nb 19,5.5.8). Dans sa phrase, le Ps.-Écumenius s'exprime de façon très exacte. Pour les génisses, il ne parle pas d'offrande, mais seulement de combustion par le feu. Pour le Christ, il exclut la combustion par le feu et affirme l'offrande par Esprit Saint. On a donc une double opposition, la première entre l'action de brûler et celle d'offrir, la seconde entre le feu et l'Esprit Saint.

Plus tard, un autre commentateur de langue grecque, Théophylacte d'Achrida (XI^e s.), laisse tomber la première opposition et se contente de dire: «Et non par le feu, comme les génisses, mais par Esprit éternel»⁽⁶⁾. Chrysostome non plus n'avait pas pensé à l'opposition des actions. Il parle, en effet, d'une offrande par le feu, qu'il exclut dans le cas du Christ. Ce faisant, il saute une étape dans l'explication du texte. Une analyse plus précise se doit de le remarquer.

La mention de la «cendre de génisse», en effet, ne met pas en rapport immédiat avec une offrande par le feu. Primitivement, le rituel de l'eau lus-

(5) Ὅς διὰ πνεύματος: οὐ διὰ πυρὸς καύσας, ὡς τὰς δαμάλεις ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ, ἀλλὰ διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου προσενέγκας. ΕCUMENIUS, *Commentarius in Novum Testamentum* (Paris 1631) II, 385. Dans PG 118, 377, le texte est fautif; au lieu de la conjonction ὡς, on y trouve la négation οὐ. La référence à l'édition de Paris est empruntée à la première partie, non publiée, de la dissertation de J. J. McGRATH citée ci-dessus (n. 2). McGrath n'étudie pas le rapport entre Esprit éternel et feu du sacrifice.

(6) THEOPHYLACTUS, *In omnes D. Pauli Apostoli epistolas enarrationes*, PG 125, 306. Je dois à J. J. McGrath cette référence ainsi que celles des autres auteurs anciens.

trale «n'avait rien d'un sacrifice»⁽⁷⁾. On l'a mis par la suite en relation avec le culte sacrificiel, mais ce qui a servi alors à établir la connexion, ce n'est pas la combustion par le feu, ce sont les sept aspersions du sang de la bête en direction du sanctuaire (Nb 19,4). Le rite a été ainsi «assimilé à un sacrifice pour le péché: le terme est employé en Nb 19,7»⁽⁸⁾. Dans les liturgies les plus solennelles de sacrifices pour le péché, on procédait effectivement à sept aspersions de sang, soit «devant le propitiatoire» (Lv 16,14) et «sur l'autel» (16,19), soit sur «le voile du sanctuaire» (4,6.17). Quant à la combustion de la génisse, elle n'avait aucunement le caractère d'une offrande à Dieu, car elle ne s'effectuait pas sur l'autel, mais «hors du camp» (Nb 19,3; cf. Lv 4,12.21; 16,27) et il était prescrit de brûler non seulement la chair de la bête, mais aussi sa peau et sa fiente (Nb 19,5; cf. Lv 4,11; 16,27), alors que, pour une offrande à Dieu, le rituel ordonnait d'écorcher la victime, quand il s'agissait de gros bétail (Lv 1,6), et d'en laver les entrailles et les jambes avant de les mettre sur l'autel (Lv 1,9.13)⁽⁹⁾.

Le Ps.-Ecumenius a donc raison de s'exprimer avec circonspection et de ne pas parler d'offrande par le feu à propos de la génisse. C'est seulement en un second temps qu'on peut passer de l'idée de combustion à celle d'offrande par le feu. Il faut, pour cela, élargir la perspective à d'autres rites du culte ancien, à l'holocauste en particulier, qui consistait à brûler «sur le feu de l'autel» tous les quartiers de la bête (Lv 1,8-9.12-13). Le commentaire de Chrysostome implique un tel élargissement de perspective.

2. Ce commentaire a inspiré aussi l'exégèse latine, mais, par suite d'une erreur de traduction, le lien entre l'Esprit éternel et l'action d'offrir y a été longtemps méconnu. Au lieu d'être rattachée au verbe «il offrit», l'expression *per spiritum aeternum* et son commentaire négatif *non per ignem*... ont été rattachés à la qualification *immaculatum*, donnée au Christ offert. Voici la traduction de Chrysostome par Mutianus: «Sacrificium *immaculatum* erat mundum a peccatis. Hoc enim est *per spiritum aeternum*, non per ignem, non per aliena quaedam»⁽¹⁰⁾. En ajoutant *enim est* et en omettant de traduire *δηλοῖ ὅτι... προσήνεται*, Mutianus a fait dire à la phrase que c'est la pureté de la victime qui s'explique par l'intervention de l'Esprit Saint, non par celle du feu ou d'autres moyens étrangers. Le même commentaire est répété ensuite, avec des variations de détail, par Alcuin, Raban Maur et Claude de Turin⁽¹¹⁾. Le rapport avec le rituel ancien y est perdu, car le Lévitique ne dit

⁽⁷⁾ R. DE VAUX, *Les Institutions de l'Ancien Testament* (Paris 1961) II, 385.

⁽⁸⁾ *Ibid.*

⁽⁹⁾ Dans les sacrifices pour le péché, un rite d'offrande par le feu de l'autel est prévu; il se fait avec la graisse de la bête (Lv 4,8-10). Ce rite ne s'effectue pas dans la préparation de l'eau lustrale (Nb 19,1-10).

⁽¹⁰⁾ MUTIANUS, «Interpretatio homiliarum S. Johannis Chrysostomi in Epistolam ad Hebraeos», PG 63, 337-338.

⁽¹¹⁾ ALCUIN, PL 100, 1073: «Erat quippe mundum a peccatis hoc sacrificium, hoc est per Spiritum sanctum aeternum». Mêmes termes chez Raban Maur, PL 112, 773. CLAUDE DE TURIN (Ps.-Atton de Verceil, PL 134, 779) introduit un élément nouveau: «mundum a peccatis, hoc enim per Spiritum

jamais que la victime immolée devienne pure par le feu; il prescrit bien plutôt de la choisir «sans tache» avant le début du rite (Lv 1,3.10; 3,1.6; 4,3.14 etc.)(¹²). La même prescription s'applique aussi à la génisse de Nb 19 (cf. 19,2).

Par bonheur, l'exégèse latine retrouva plus tard le lien entre l'acte d'offrande et l'Esprit Saint, sans renoncer pour autant à l'autre liaison(¹³). Hugues de Saint Cher reprend alors l'opposition exprimée par Chrysostome et écrit: «Non per ignem, non per aliud legali modo, sed *per Spiritum sanctum* omnia ei dictantem et suggerentem semetipsum obtulit immaculatum *per Spiritum sanctum* Deo Patri»(¹⁴). Hugues ignore le Ps.-Æcumenius et n'a pas l'idée de fonder l'allusion au feu sur un rapport avec la cendre de la génisse; comme Chrysostome, il parle directement — pour l'exclure dans le cas du Christ — d'une offrande par le feu. A cette allusion au feu des anciens sacrifices, il en ajoute une à la Loi, «non per aliud legali modo», ce qui peut se recommander de He 10,1-10, texte qui exprime un contraste entre l'offrande du Christ et les sacrifices légaux.

Au temps de la Réforme, la tradition exégétique se maintient encore. Érasme se situe dans la ligne de Chrysostome: «Quanto magis sanguis Christi qui non per ignem corporalem sed spiritum aeternum, humanae salutis sitientem, obtulit non pecudem brutam sed semetipsum...»(¹⁵). Zwingle fait de même: «Opponit enim spiritum sanctum igni et incendio quo sacrificia comburebantur brutarum pecudum»(¹⁶). Louis Tena semble connaître le Ps.-Æcumenius: «Non enim per ignem, sicut vitula rufa, oblatum est, sed per Spiritum Sanctum»(¹⁷). Moins exact que l'auteur ancien, Tena, on le voit, commet l'erreur d'évoquer une offrande par le feu dans le cas de la «vitula rufa» de Nb 19.

Dans les temps modernes, B. F. Westcott cite la phrase de Chrysostome et écrit: «This is but a small part of the meaning»(¹⁸). On ne peut que lui

sanctum, non per ignem neque per vituli sanguinem». L'élément ajouté, «neque per vituli sanguinem», s'accorde avec l'idée de purification (cf. He 9,22); il ne s'accorde pas avec l'action d'offrir: on offre le sang (He 9,7), on n'offre pas *par* le sang.

(¹²) L'idée de purification par le feu se trouve dans l'Ancien Testament, mais en dehors du rituel: Is 6,6. Quant à la purification par l'Esprit, elle est promise en Is 4,4. Dans le Nouveau Testament, voir Jn 20,22-23.

(¹³) Pierre LOMBARD, *Collectanea in omnes S. Pauli epistolas*, PL 192, 471: «Obtulit, dico, per Spiritum Sanctum, omnia ei dictantem. Vel immaculatum, dico, per Spiritum Sanctum, de quo conceptus et immunis a peccato fuit.» P. LOMBARD s'étend longuement sur la typologie de la vache rousse, mais sans se référer à l'interprétation du «per Spiritum Sanctum».

(¹⁴) Hugues DE SAINT CHER, *In epistolas omnes D. Pauli* (Venise 1600) 7, 259.

(¹⁵) ERASME, «Paraphrases in universum Novum Testamentum», *Opera* (Bâle 1540) 7, 842.

(¹⁶) ZWINGLE, «Annotationes in Evangelistarum et Apostolorum scripta», *Opera omnia* (Tiguri 1539) IV, 577.

(¹⁷) L. TENA, *Commentaria et disputationes in epistolam D. Pauli ad Hebraeos* (Tolède 1661) 405.

(¹⁸) B. F. WESTCOTT, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (Londres 1914) 264.

donner raison, si on en reste à l'expression négative, «non par le feu». Celle-ci ne révèle assurément pas grand'chose du contenu positif de l'affirmation, qui attribue à l'Esprit éternel un rôle déterminant dans le sacrifice du Christ.

3. Mais d'autres commentateurs anciens n'en sont pas restés à une observation négative. Passant à une perspective positive, ils ont assimilé l'Esprit Saint à un feu sacrificiel. Tel est le point de vue d'un commentateur latin du IX^e s., Sedulius Scotus, qui écrit: «*Qui per Spiritum Sanctum: quasi per ignem, quomodo hostiae prius ignem de caelo accipiebant*»⁽¹⁹⁾. Ici, on ne trouve aucune opposition entre Esprit et feu; le rapport exprimé est celui d'une ressemblance.

Un commentateur byzantin du XII^e s., Euthymius Zigabenus, prend la même perspective positive: «Par l'Esprit Saint comme par une sorte de feu, il s'offrit lui-même en holocauste au Dieu et Père, en belle oblation immaculée»⁽²⁰⁾. Là non plus, aucune négation.

Le rapprochement entre le feu et l'Esprit Saint n'a rien d'exceptionnel. On le trouve à plusieurs reprises dans le Nouveau Testament, d'abord dans l'annonce du baptême nouveau: «Lui vous baptisera dans l'Esprit Saint et le feu» (Mt 3,11; Lc 3,16), puis lors de la venue de l'Esprit Saint à la Pentecôte, sous la forme de «langues comme de feu» (Ac 2,3), enfin dans les visions de l'Apocalypse, où «les sept torches de feu qui brûlent devant le trône» sont «les sept esprits de Dieu» (Ap 4,5)⁽²¹⁾. L'épître aux Hébreux elle-même cite un psaume qui met en parallèle — à propos des anges, il est vrai — «esprits» et «flamme de feu» (He 1,7; Ps 103,4 LXX) et elle rappelle par ailleurs que «notre Dieu est un feu consumant» (He 12,29; Dt 4,24). L'interprétation proposée pour He 9,14 paraît donc plausible, le seul élément nouveau qu'elle contienne étant l'assimilation de l'Esprit Saint à un feu *sacrificiel*⁽²²⁾.

4. A première vue, on pourrait penser que Sedulius et Euthymius prennent le contre-pied de l'exégèse de Chrysostome. Celui-ci niait l'intervention d'un feu dans le sacrifice du Christ; eux en parlent positivement. Mais il est facile de voir qu'il ne s'agit pas du même feu dans les deux cas et que, loin de s'exclure mutuellement, les deux explications se complètent bien plutôt l'une l'autre. C'est la négation de Chrysostome qui a mis sur la voie d'une compari-

⁽¹⁹⁾ SEDULIUS SCOTUS, *In omnes D. Pauli epistolas annotationes*, PL 103, 264.

⁽²⁰⁾ Ὅς διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου ὡς διὰ τινος πυρὸς ὠλοκαύτωσεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ ἁμῶν καλλίεργμα. Euthymius ZIGABENUS, *Commentarius in XIV Epistolas S. Pauli* [...], ed. Nicephorus Calogeras (Athènes 1887) II, 407.

⁽²¹⁾ Dans la Septante, on trouve l'expression «esprit de combustion» en Is 4,4: «Le Seigneur... nettoiera le sang parmi eux par esprit de jugement et par esprit de combustion (ἐν πνεύματι καθάρσεως)». L'hébreu a *bā'ēr*; la LXX a rattaché ce mot au verbe *bā'ar*, «brûler»; les traducteurs modernes préférèrent le rattacher à *bī'ēr*, «enlever», «abolir».

⁽²²⁾ L. DI PINTO observe que le texte de Rm 15,16 suggère une interprétation semblable. L'Esprit Saint y prend la place du feu pour la transformation sacrificielle. *Volontà di Dio*, 69-70.

son entre l'Esprit et le feu. Comment, en effet, l'Esprit a-t-il pu rendre inutile, pour le sacrifice du Christ, l'usage du feu de l'autel, si ce n'est en opérant lui-même comme un feu d'un autre genre, bien plus puissant? Il s'ensuit qu'un auteur du XVII^e s. a pu synthétiser en une même phrase les deux points de vue: «Non corporeo igne, sed divini Spiritus flamma incendebatur»⁽²³⁾. On obtient ainsi une illustration supplémentaire de l'accomplissement du culte ancien dans le sacrifice du Christ. Au sujet du feu, on peut constater l'existence des trois rapports qui, selon l'épître aux Hébreux, caractérisent l'accomplissement chrétien: a) rapport de différence, car le Christ s'est offert par l'Esprit Saint et non pas par le feu; b) rapport de ressemblance, car l'Esprit Saint est une sorte de feu; c) rapport de supériorité, car l'Esprit est un feu divin et non un feu matériel.

Luther a eu le mérite de mieux spécifier la nature du feu spirituel. Il écrit: «Quanto magis sanguis Christi qui per spiritum sanctum: hic enim est ignis ille caritatis quo voluit Christus offerri»⁽²⁴⁾. L'originalité de Luther ne consiste pas à mentionner ici la charité à propos de l'Esprit Saint. Déjà Thomas d'Aquin expliquait en ce sens He 9,14: «Spiritus Sanctus, cujus motu et instinctu, scilicet caritate Dei et proximi [Christus] hoc fecit»⁽²⁵⁾. Au siècle suivant, Nicolas de Lyre avait exprimé la même pensée: «Tertium est modus offerendi, qui processit ex maxima caritate, quod notatur cum dicitur per Spiritum Sanctum»⁽²⁶⁾. L'apport de Luther consiste à faire le lien entre la charité communiquée par l'Esprit Saint et la métaphore du feu qui consume l'offrande. Grâce à ce lien, l'exégèse du texte s'unifie et s'enrichit⁽²⁷⁾.

5. Cet enrichissement a été perdu de vue par les commentateurs plus récents. A ma connaissance, Westcott est le seul à citer la phrase de Chrysostome, mais, nous l'avons vu, c'est pour en marquer l'insuffisance; il y ajoute celle d'Euthymius, mais sans un mot de commentaire. Après lui, sans se référer à aucun auteur, J. Bonsirven considère un instant la possibilité d'un rapprochement: «On pourrait songer, écrit-il, au feu qui dévore la victime, et le mettre en parallèle avec l'Esprit Saint, qui a comme dévoré le Christ et qui l'a poussé à cet acte de générosité, de même qu'il l'avait dirigé dans diverses démar-

⁽²³⁾ Benedictus JUSTINIANUS, *In omnes B. Pauli Apostoli Epistolas explanationes* (Lyon 1613) II, 765. Cité par McGRATH, «*Through the Eternal Spirit*», 20.

⁽²⁴⁾ LUTHER, *Vorlesung über den Hebräerbrief 1517/18*, ed. J. FICKER (Leipzig 1929), «Die Glosse», 39; ou WA 57 (1939) «Vorlesung über den Hebräerbrief», 50.

⁽²⁵⁾ THOMAS D'AQUIN, *Super epistolas S. Pauli lectura*, ed. R. Cai (Turin/Rome 1953) II, n. 444.

⁽²⁶⁾ Nicolas DE LYRE dans *Biblia Sacra cum Glossa ordinaria* [...] (Anvers 1617) VI, 895.

⁽²⁷⁾ Luther s'inspire sans doute du célèbre passage de Cant 8,6-7 sur les flammes de l'amour. Sans jamais dire explicitement que le Christ s'est offert «par amour de Dieu et du prochain», l'auteur d'Hébreux oriente souvent la pensée dans cette direction, car il insiste sur la générosité du Christ envers Dieu: «Voici, je suis venu pour faire ta volonté» (10,9; cf. 5,8) et sur sa solidarité miséricordieuse envers ses «frères» (2,11-18; 4,15-16). Cf. L. DI PINTO, *Volontà di Dio*, 73-74.

ches de sa vie (Mat., IV,1; XII,28)»⁽²⁸⁾. Cette interprétation, cependant, ne trouve pas grâce à ses yeux. Il la repousse. L'étonnant est qu'il se contente à cet effet de l'objection suivante: «Mais si Dieu est appelé éternel (Rom, XVI,26), on ne voit jamais ce qualificatif appliqué à l'Esprit Saint»⁽²⁹⁾. J. Bonsirven refuse le parallèle avec le feu, parce que ce parallèle suppose, à son avis, que l'expression «Esprit éternel» désigne l'Esprit Saint, identification que ne garantit aucun autre texte biblique.

La faiblesse de l'objection est évidente. J. McGrath a remarqué à bon droit qu'on pourrait l'opposer à n'importe quelle interprétation⁽³⁰⁾. L'expression *διὰ πνεύματος αἰωνίου* étant un hapax biblique, exiger, pour l'interpréter, l'appui d'un autre texte biblique qui la contienne, c'est s'interdire toute interprétation, puisqu'aucun texte ne répond à cette condition. L'expression étant nouvelle, le seul chemin viable consiste à rechercher les raisons qui ont pu pousser l'auteur à la créer. Depuis longtemps, on a trouvé une raison plausible dans le désir qu'il a pu avoir d'exprimer une correspondance entre la cause et l'effet: pour obtenir une «rédemption éternelle» (9,12) et assurer aux croyants «l'héritage éternel» (9,15), il fallait que fût agissant dans le sacrifice du Christ «l'Esprit éternel» (9,14)⁽³¹⁾.

Mais une autre raison ne peut-elle pas être cherchée dans le désir de suggérer un parallélisme avec le feu sacrificiel? Il faut se rappeler, en effet, que, selon la Loi de Moïse, le feu des sacrifices était un feu qui brûlait continuellement: «Le feu qui, sur l'autel, consume l'holocauste ne s'éteindra pas... Un feu *perpétuel* brûlera sur l'autel sans s'éteindre» (Lv 6,5-6)⁽³²⁾. Dans ce passage, la Septante se fait plus insistante que le texte massorétique: elle répète une troisième fois l'ordre de ne pas laisser le feu s'éteindre.

Un autre texte biblique révèle l'importance qu'on attribuait à cet aspect du culte vers la fin de l'ère ancienne, donc à une époque proche de l'épître aux Hébreux. Dans la traduction grecque du livre d'Esdras, l'emplacement du temple de Jérusalem est défini comme le lieu où un «feu continu» consume les sacrifices. L'expression se trouve dans un document attribué à Cyrus et concernant la reconstruction du Temple. Le texte araméen parle simplement de lieu «où on offre des sacrifices» (Esd 6,3). Mais la traduction grecque est plus précise: «Le roi Cyrus a ordonné que la maison du Seigneur, celle de Jérusalem, soit construite, où on sacrifie par feu continu» (1 Esd 6,23). Entre ce texte grec et la phrase d'He 9,14 le rapport est frappant:

| | | | | |
|-------------|------|---------------------|-----------------------|------------|
| 1 Esd 6,23: | ὅπου | ἐπιθύουσιν | διὰ πυρός | ἐνδελεχοῦς |
| He 9,14: | ὅς | | διὰ πνεύματος αἰωνίου | |
| | | ἑαυτὸν προσήνεγκεν. | | |

⁽²⁸⁾ J. BONSIIVEN, *L'épître aux Hébreux*, 390-391.

⁽²⁹⁾ *Ibid.*

⁽³⁰⁾ J. MCGRATH, «*Through the Eternal Spirit*», 54.

⁽³¹⁾ Cf. THEOPHYLACTUS, PG 125, 306: *διὰ πνεύματος αἰωνίου, ὥστε καὶ τὴν χάριν καὶ τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν διαίωνειν*. T. CAJETAN, *Epistolae Pauli et Aliorum Apostolorum* [...] (Venise 1531) 166: «Et est sermo de spiritu sancto qui est aeternus, unde redemptio facta per Christum habet efficaciam aeternam.» J. MCGRATH, «*Through the Eternal Spirit*», 102.

⁽³²⁾ Pour «perpétuel» l'hébreu a ici *tāmīd*, le grec *διὰ παντός*.

A διὰ πρὸς correspond διὰ πνεύματος, l'un et l'autre sans article et désignant le moyen qui rend possible une offrande sacrificielle. A ἐνδελχοῦς, «continuel»⁽³³⁾, correspond αἰώνιου, «éternel». Au verbe «sacrifier» correspond le verbe «offrir». Le parallélisme est donc très strict. Mais il est antithétique. En effet, il fait ressortir des différences significatives, qui prennent toute leur portée si on se rappelle la doctrine de l'épître aux Hébreux. D'un côté, on a un présent de répétition: «ils sacrifient» (1 Esd 6,23), comme dans les phrases de l'épître qui décrivent le culte ancien (He 9,7.9; 10,1.8.11); de l'autre côté, on a un aoriste d'action passée unique, «il s'offrit» (He 9,14), comme dans les phrases où l'auteur insiste sur le caractère spécifique du sacrifice du Christ, offert une fois pour toutes (7,27; 9,28; 10,12). Aux immolations anciennes, sans cesse répétées parce qu'elle n'étaient jamais efficaces, l'auteur oppose l'offrande du Christ, qui ne peut être qu'unique parce que son efficacité a été complète (10,1-10). Ce qui rend compte de cette différence capitale, n'est-ce pas précisément la différence du moyen employé ou, pour mieux dire, de la force agissant dans le sacrifice? Pour élever la victime vers Dieu, le culte ancien n'avait à sa disposition qu'un «feu continu», image, assurément, de la puissance divine de transformation, mais image indigente, incapable de procurer véritablement l'union à Dieu, car l'action du feu n'atteignait que des cadavres de bêtes. Dans l'offrande personnelle du Christ, au contraire, c'est l'Esprit éternel lui-même qui a été agissant et qui a donné une valeur éternelle à une oblation unique.

L'existence d'un rapport intentionnel entre He 9,14 et 1 Esd 6,23 prend plus de probabilité encore, si on se rappelle le contexte de la phrase d'Esdras. Celle-ci se situe dans la perspective de la destruction et de la reconstruction du Temple de Jérusalem. Or, du point de vue de la foi chrétienne, ces événements avaient constitué comme une préfiguration de la mort et de la résurrection du Christ (cf. Jn 2,19-22; Mc 14,58). Ils avaient représenté à l'avance, mais à un niveau imparfait, l'arrivée du «temps du relèvement», que l'auteur de l'épître mentionne en 9,10 pour introduire le paragraphe où il décrit l'offrande du Christ «par Esprit éternel».

Ainsi donc, loin de fournir une objection, comme le pensait J. Bonsirven, la qualification d'*éternel* donnée à *Esprit* en He 9,14 apporte, au contraire, un indice très favorable à l'interprétation proposée. Elle suggère que l'Esprit Saint a pris, dans le sacrifice du Christ, la place que tenait, dans le culte ancien, le «feu continu» (1 Esd 6,23; Lv 6,5-6).

6. Une question se pose néanmoins: l'allusion au feu de l'autel s'accorde-t-elle de façon satisfaisante avec la typologie utilisée par l'auteur? Lorsqu'il veut exprimer les rapports de parallélisme et d'opposition qui existent entre le sacrifice du Christ et le culte ancien, l'auteur de l'épître choisit d'évoquer, en 9,7-12, le rite d'expiation de la liturgie de Kippour (Lv 16,11-17), seule occasion où le grand prêtre israélite était autorisé à entrer dans le Saint des

⁽³³⁾ L'adjectif ἐνδελχής n'a que deux emplois dans la Septante, 1 Esd 6,23 et Si 17,19; mais l'adverbe et le nom correspondants sont assez fréquents dans les textes sacrificiels; ils y traduisent l'hébreu *tamid*, cf. Ex 29,38.42; 39,8; Lv 24,3 etc.

Saints (He 9,7). Or il se trouve que, dans ce rite, le feu de l'autel ne jouait aucun rôle. L'expiation sacrificielle s'accomplissait avec le sang des victimes, que le grand prêtre portait dans le Saint des Saints pour en asperger le propitiatoire (Lv 16,14.15). La combustion qui avait lieu ensuite n'avait pas le caractère d'une offrande. Comme dans le cas de la génisse, dont nous avons parlé plus haut⁽³⁴⁾, elle s'effectuait hors du camp, sans aucun rapport avec l'autel des holocaustes (Lv 16,27).

Dans la dernière partie de l'épître, l'auteur rappelle ce rite, qui concernait «les corps» des animaux dont le sang avait été porté dans le sanctuaire (He 13,11). Il en fait l'application au sacrifice du Christ. Sa phrase suggère un certain parallélisme entre la combustion des victimes et la passion de Jésus, mais le point qui lui sert à établir un rapport explicite n'est pas le fait de la combustion, c'est la situation «hors du camp». Comme les corps de ces victimes étaient brûlés «hors du camp», Jésus «a souffert hors de la porte» (13,12) et les chrétiens sont donc invités à «sortir hors du camp pour aller à lui en portant son opprobre» (13,13). L'auteur, on le voit, n'insiste pas en ce passage sur le rôle du feu. Y insisterait-il que la difficulté ne serait pas résolue pour autant, car le rapport établi ne concernerait pas le «feu continu» de l'autel des holocaustes, mais un simple feu occasionnel, utilisé pour une combustion qui n'est pas une offrande. Le parallélisme avec l'«Esprit éternel» et l'offrande du Christ n'apparaîtrait donc pas.

Ne doit-on pas conclure qu'il n'y a pas lieu de supposer en 9,14 un rapport implicite entre l'Esprit éternel et le feu des sacrifices? Cette conclusion s'imposerait, si, pour expliciter sa doctrine du sacrifice du Christ, l'auteur s'en tenait à un seul genre de sacrifice ancien, celui du sacrifice pour le péché dans la liturgie de Kippour. En ce cas, une allusion au feu de l'autel serait exclue. Mais on doit constater que l'auteur ne s'enferme nullement dans une perspective si étroite. Dès le verset suivant (9,15), il met l'offrande du Christ en rapport avec le sacrifice d'alliance, très différent du sacrifice d'expiation, et il rappelle en détail la liturgie d'Ex 24,3-8 (He 9,18-21). Un peu plus loin, il parle de «l'offrande du corps de Jésus Christ» (10,10). A Kippour, nous venons de le voir, les «corps» des victimes d'expiation n'étaient pas «offerts». Parler de «l'offrande du corps de Jésus Christ», c'est sortir de la typologie de l'expiation pour la compléter par une autre, celle de l'holocauste, où les corps des victimes sont offerts à Dieu sur l'autel et où cette offrande s'effectue grâce au «feu continu» (Lv 6,5-6). Remarquons à ce propos, — car on l'oublie facilement, — que la liturgie de Kippour ne se limitait pas aux sacrifices d'expiation; elle comprenait aussi un holocauste (Lv 16,3.5.24). Le sacrifice d'expiation comportait d'ailleurs lui-même un rite de combustion de graisse sur l'autel (16,25). A cela s'ajoute que toute la liturgie de Kippour est introduite, en Lv 16,1 (LXX), par une phrase qui attire l'attention sur le feu utilisé pour le culte, en relation avec Lv 10,1-2. On voit par là combien il était facile, pour l'auteur de l'épître, de passer de la typologie du rite d'expiation à celle du feu de l'autel. Dans la phrase de He 9,13-14 on perçoit comme un glissement progressif dans cette direction, glissement qui est bien dans

⁽³⁴⁾ Ci-dessus, pp. 264-265.

la manière de l'auteur⁽³⁵⁾. La mention du «sang de boucs et de taureaux» (9,13) continue la typologie précédente, qui est celle de l'entrée dans le sanctuaire lors de la grande expiation (cf. 9,12). En ajoutant ensuite la «cendre de gémisse» (9,13), l'auteur passe à un rite apparenté, mais différent, et il introduit implicitement le thème du feu ainsi qu'une allusion au corps de la victime, mais il ne s'agit pas encore du feu de l'autel, ni d'une «oblation du corps». Enfin, dans l'*a fortiori* qui concerne le Christ (9,14), les expressions utilisées correspondent à un niveau supérieur de typologie: l'«Esprit éternel», en effet, ne surclasse pas simplement le feu qui réduisait en cendres la gémisse, mais, étant une force divine à l'action dans «l'oblation» du Christ, il est comparé implicitement au «feu continu» qui faisait monter vers le ciel les sacrifices anciens. Ce parallélisme trouve confirmation en He 10,10, lorsque l'auteur proclame que la sanctification a été réalisée «par l'oblation du corps de Jésus Christ», ce qui fait penser à un holocauste.

7. Cela dit, il convient de saisir exactement la portée du parallélisme antithétique. L'explication donnée par Érasme («non per ignem corporalem, sed spiritum aeternum») et par Justinian («non corporeo igne sed divini Spiritus flamma»)⁽³⁶⁾ reste insuffisante, car elle simplifie le premier terme en parlant seulement de «feu corporel». Sedulius Scotus était mieux inspiré lorsqu'il écrivait: «... hostiae prius ignem de caelo accipiebant»⁽³⁷⁾. Aux yeux des Juifs, en effet, le feu qui brûlait continuellement sur l'autel du Temple n'était pas un «ignis corporalis» quelconque. Ce n'était pas un feu terrestre, mais un feu céleste, venu de Dieu. Selon le récit du Lévitique, l'inauguration du culte israélite s'était accomplie grâce à une intervention divine: «Une flamme jaillit de devant Yahweh, qui dévora sur l'autel l'holocauste et les graisses» (Lv 9,24). Une tradition analogue situait dans la même perspective le culte du Temple de Salomon. Lors de la dédicace du Temple, «à peine Salomon eut-il fini de prier que le feu descendit du ciel, consuma l'holocauste et les sacrifices» (2 Ch 7,1).

Combien cette conviction restait vivante aux environs de l'ère chrétienne, on peut le constater en lisant le début de 2 Maccabées. En ce livre, en effet, on trouve réuni dans une même phrase (2 M 2,10) le rappel explicite des deux traditions que nous venons de mentionner (Lv 9,24; 2 Ch 7,1) et, plus encore, un récit populaire qui atteste le souci qu'on avait de conserver fidèlement le feu de l'autel. Ce récit raconte qu'au temps de la déportation à Babylone, «les prêtres pieux d'alors, ayant pris du feu de l'autel, le cachèrent secrètement dans la concavité d'un puits desséché et l'y mirent en sûreté» (1,19); ils suivaient en cela un ordre donné par Jérémie (2,1). Au retour de l'exil, Néhémie «fit rechercher le feu par les descendants des prêtres qui l'avaient caché... Ils ne trouvèrent pas le feu, mais une eau épaisse. Il leur ordonna d'en puiser et d'en rapporter» (1,20). Au moment du sacrifice, l'eau

⁽³⁵⁾ En 9,15-16 on observe un glissement de sens de διαθήκη, d'abord «alliance», puis «testament». En 9,20-22 l'auteur passe du rituel de l'alliance à l'idée de purification et de rémission.

⁽³⁶⁾ Voir ci-dessus p. 266, n. 15, et p. 268, n. 23.

⁽³⁷⁾ Ci-dessus, p. 267, n. 19.

épaisse fut répandue sur les offrandes et sur le bois. Quand le soleil se mit à briller, l'eau se transforma en feu: «un grand brasier s'alluma, au grand émerveillement de tout le monde» (1,22), et le sacrifice se consuma (1,23). Ainsi fut assurée la continuité entre le feu du culte d'après l'exil et celui d'avant l'exil, dont l'origine était divine.

Ce récit fait sourire, car sa dernière phrase permet de comprendre que «l'eau épaisse» n'était autre que du «naphte» (1,36) ou pétrole brut. Mais au delà de la formulation légendaire, il y a lieu de reconnaître en ces traditions une intuition profonde sur la nature du sacrifice. Pour accomplir un vrai sacrifice, les moyens terrestres ne sauraient suffire. En effet, comme l'a dit plus tard saint Augustin, «sacrificium res divina est»⁽³⁸⁾. Il y faut donc une force céleste, capable d'élever la victime jusqu'à Dieu. Un homme ne peut pas «sacri-fier», au vrai sens du mot, c'est-à-dire rendre sacré, imprégner de sainteté. Dieu seul peut opérer cette transformation, car il est «le Saint» par excellence et toute sainteté vient de lui. Tout ce que l'homme est en mesure de faire, c'est de présenter une offrande. Mais pour que cette offrande devienne un sacrifice, il faut que Dieu lui-même l'élève jusqu'à lui, ce qu'il fait en envoyant le feu du ciel. Celui-ci prend possession de l'offrande, la transforme en «parfum d'agréable odeur»⁽³⁹⁾ et la fait monter.

L'intuition était valable. Cependant, elle restait à mi-chemin, s'arrêtant à un niveau qui ne pouvait être que figuratif. Le feu de l'autel, descendu du ciel, était considéré comme feu divin. L'auteur de l'épître aux Hébreux se détache de cette conception rudimentaire. Le feu même de la théophanie du Sinaï ne l'impressionne pas (He 12,18). Pour l'accomplissement du sacrifice parfait, il ne parle pas du feu de l'autel, mais de l'Esprit éternel. Il fait ainsi comprendre que seul l'Esprit de Dieu est capable de réaliser la vraie transformation sacrificielle. Celle-ci ne consiste pas à consumer des victimes animales pour les faire monter vers le ciel en fumée. Elle consiste à susciter une offrande de la personne elle-même (9,14), en portant celle-ci à accomplir généreusement la volonté de Dieu (10,4-10), qui est une volonté de salut pour la multitude de ses fils (2,10). Tel a été le sacrifice du Christ, offrande personnelle inspirée et soutenue «par l'Esprit éternel».

8. L'expression de He 9,14 peut sembler abstraite dans sa densité. Pour expliciter son contenu, il faut la compléter par ce que l'auteur a dit précédemment de l'offrande du Christ (5,7-8). Dans cette première présentation, il n'a pas parlé d'Esprit, mais au contraire de «chair», observant que l'offrande du Christ a eu lieu «aux jours de sa chair» (5,7). La description dramatique que ces mots introduisent révèle un aspect important du mystère. L'oblation du Christ n'a pas été l'élan facile d'un être déjà complètement spirituel, qui se serait élevé vers Dieu sans se heurter à aucun obstacle; elle a été, au contraire, une ascension pénible, une transformation douloureuse, effectuée «avec grand cri et larmes» (5,7). Pour Jésus, le point de départ de l'oblation ne fut donc pas glorieux, mais humiliant. Il avait pris notre chair, faible, fragile,

⁽³⁸⁾ S. AUGUSTIN, *De civitate Dei*, 10,6 (CCL 47, 278).

⁽³⁹⁾ Ainsi s'exprime la transformation sacrificielle, depuis l'histoire de Noé (Gn 8,21) jusqu'au temps du Nouveau Testament (Ep 5,2), en passant par le rituel de la Loi Mosaïque (Ex 29,18.25.41; Lv 1,9.13 etc.).

sujette à la souffrance et à la mort (2,14-15). C'est pourquoi il s'est trouvé dans une situation d'angoisse extrême. Et c'est en partant de cette angoisse qu'il est parvenu à l'offrande de lui-même «au moyen de l'Esprit éternel» (9,14). Par quel chemin? «En offrant prières et supplications» (5,7). L'offrande de soi dont parle la phrase d'He 9,14 a commencé par une «offrande de prières». Par ces prières, pénétrées de profond respect (εὐλάβεια: 5,7), le Christ ouvrait son humanité angoissée à l'action de Dieu, qui le conduisit à l'exaucement à travers l'obéissance douloureuse (5,8). En rapprochant les deux descriptions de l'offrande du Christ (He 5,7-8 et 9,14), on est amené à comprendre qu'en priant, le Christ ouvrait son être humain à l'Esprit éternel, qui lui donna l'élan nécessaire pour s'offrir à Dieu (9,14) et pour devenir ainsi «cause de salut éternel» pour ses frères (5,9). Si on y réfléchit bien, la prière n'a jamais d'autre but que d'ouvrir l'être humain à l'action transformante de l'Esprit de Dieu et l'exaucement d'une prière consiste toujours, de la part de Dieu, à «donner l'Esprit Saint à ceux qui le prient» (Lc 11,13).

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De tout ce qui précède, il semble permis de conclure que le rapprochement entre l'«Esprit éternel» de He 9,14 et le feu des sacrifices anciens ne manque pas de fondement. Plusieurs indices dans le texte même et le contexte fournissent un appui à cette exégèse: l'allusion à la «cendre» (9,13) fait penser au feu; l'expression «Esprit éternel» semble calquée sur celle de «feu continu» (1 Esd 6,23; Lv 6,5-6); parler de «l'oblation du corps de Jésus Christ» (He 10,10), c'est mettre l'événement en rapport avec un holocauste. L'interprétation ainsi obtenue s'insère parfaitement dans les perspectives de l'accomplissement de l'Ancien Testament par le Christ, telles que les comprend l'auteur de l'épître.

Éclairé de cette façon, «Esprit éternel» désigne manifestement l'Esprit de Dieu. Seule, cette exégèse ancienne est dans la ligne du «feu jailli de Dieu», qui consumait les sacrifices anciens. Voir dans «Esprit éternel» une désignation de la divinité du Christ n'est possible qu'en recourant à une élaboration théologique postérieure, qui s'écarte de la problématique de l'épître. Parler simplement de «disposition intérieure» du Christ, c'est se contenter de bien peu pour une expression aussi forte. Quel genre de «disposition intérieure» peut-on appeler «Esprit éternel»? Mieux vaut assurément donner à «éternel» toute sa plénitude de sens et reconnaître qu'en parlant d'Esprit éternel, l'auteur de l'épître a voulu exprimer l'action de l'Esprit de Dieu dans l'oblation du Christ.

En prenant la place du «feu continu» qui servait au culte sacrificiel de l'Ancien Testament, l'Esprit de Dieu a donné à l'offrande du Christ toute sa portée de sanctification de l'homme. Et par l'introduction de ces quelques mots, l'auteur de l'épître a renouvelé radicalement la notion de sacrifice.

RECENSIONES

Varia

George W. E. NICKELSBURG, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah. A Historical and Literary Introduction.* xx-332 p. Philadelphia 1981. Fortress Press. USA \$ 19.95

In keeping with what the book's subtitle declares, this introduction to a large portion of Jewish religious literature produced between c. 350 B.C. and c. 140 A.D. is also meant, parenthetically, to be a brief summary of the history of the Jewish People within the same period. This summary is effected by the Prologue (pp. 9-18) and by short introductions to six of the book's nine chapters.

Only a small portion of the religious literature introduced is biblical, the greater part by far comprising what have come to be known as "apocrypha" and "pseudepigrapha". The author notes (pp. XI-XII) his deliberate omission of all discussion of the Septuagint, Samaritan Literature, early Rabbinic productions, Philo of Alexandria and Flavius Josephus. He has also, evidently, not found room for mention of the works which, though surviving in but fragmentary form, fill out, and often make real contributions to, our knowledge of Jewish historiography, poetry, drama, philosophy and propaganda. Some works which have been included are treated only in part (e.g., *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, *Sibylline Oracles*). However, many of the most important documents yielded by Qumran find place in the author's scheme.

The introductory material which the book provides has much to recommend it. The facts regarding date and place of origin of the many works dealt with are briefly and accurately put forward, discussion of the problems relating to these issues being (rightly) reduced to a minimum. Description of the content of each work is always of sufficient length and usually attractively presented, many details being inserted which not only heighten interest but serve also to place the work in greater clarity and perspective from the start. Finally, the bibliographies are ample and current.

Those as yet unacquainted with this period of Jewish Literature could do far worse than read this book; to those who have been over the ground before, there is much that is both fresh and informative.

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- A. VAN DER HEIDE, *The Yemenite Tradition of the Targum of Lamentations. Critical Text and Analysis of the Variant Readings* (Studia Post-Biblica vol. 32) 193 pp. Texte araméen et Appendices pp. 3*-55* — Leiden 1981. E. J. Brill. 100 Gld.

Les études targumiques ont aujourd'hui un besoin urgent d'éditions critiques et d'analyses détaillées permettant une évaluation du matériel disponible. Le travail de A. van der Heide est une contribution aussi importante qu'exemplaire en ce sens. La tradition targumique d'origine orientale connaît une sorte de redécouverte. La tradition babylonienne, avec son système particulier de vocalisation supralinéaire avait été étudiée par P. Kahle (*Masoreten des Ostens* 1913) et plus récemment par A. Díez Macho et ses disciples. Depuis longtemps, on avait aussi examiné une masse de mss yéménites dont le grand intérêt avait été démontré par A. Merx, P. Kahle, G. Dalman (dont la grammaire est basée sur des mss yéménites), J. F. Stenning etc. et surtout par A. Sperber dans sa monumentale édition des Targums (Leiden 1959-1968). Ils sont complètement vocalisés selon un système intelligent, par des scribes au fait d'une tradition encore cohérente de l'araméen, au contraire de leurs collègues occidentaux. Ces mss forment donc un groupe bien caractérisé, malgré des traces de leur lointaine origine babylonienne et les contaminations postérieures du système tibérien.

Le but de l'auteur (répondant à une requête ancienne de P. Kahle, *MdO* 216) est l'étude et l'édition critique de la *totalité* des mss yéménites d'un Targum «*as a separate group and as a tradition in its own right*» (53) et pas seulement comme des témoins éventuels de l'ancienne tr. babylonienne. Entreprise déjà réalisée par R. H. Melamed pour le *T du Cantique* (Philadelphia 1921). Le T des *Megilloth* offrait un sujet en or : d'abord, on peut ici écarter l'hypothèse d'une influence babylonienne (les mss bab. ne contiennent pas ce T) et il semble, d'autre part, qu'il n'y a pas eu de tradition tibérienne. On est en présence d'un «*solely Yemenite achievement*» (53), de textes qui ont une physionomie, une histoire et une tradition à part. Il est donc naturel de les éditer séparément, sans faire intervenir la tradition occidentale (*WT*), comme l'a fait P. S. Knobel dans son édition du *T Qohéleth* (1976). Dans le groupe des *Megilloth*, le *T Lamentations* (comme celui d'*Esther*) a lui-même son originalité : depuis longtemps, il n'a plus été en usage dans les synagogues et on le trouve seulement dans des mss relativement anciens. C'est donc une création savante de l'âge d'or de la tradition yéménite (cf. p. 3), examinée ici dans toutes ses variantes, y compris la vocalisation que quelques chercheurs laissent de côté quand il s'agit de mss yéménites.

Dans la présentation de son travail, A. van der Heide s'inspire, semble-t-il, de celle de R. H. Melamed : I — Tradition yéménite concernant le Targum et *T Lam* en particulier (5-22). Comparaison de la trad. occidentale (*WT*) et yéménite (*Yem*) du *T Lam*, avec quelques indications sur les autres Targums des *Megilloth* (23-36); II — Vocalisation supralinéaire des mss yéménites (37-56); III — Description des mss utilisés, avec quelques reproductions (London, Br. Library Or 1476 — texte de base de l'édition —, 2374, 2375, 2377; Oxford, Bodleian Library Op. Add 4 to 139; Jerusalem, MS Qa-

fiḥ, n. 8; Berlin, Or Qu 958; New York, Jewish Theol. Seminary L 472 b), évaluation (en anticipant les conclusions de la section suivante) et *stemma* qui ne peut donner qu'une indication générale sur les relations (non directes) des mss entre eux et avec *WT* (57-72); IV — Classification et analyse des variantes, «la pièce de résistance» selon l'auteur (3) (73-181). Suivent une précieuse Bibliographie (qui fait connaître entre autres la recherche florissante en Israël sur les traditions du Yémen, avant qu'il soit trop tard), des Index, le texte du *T Lam* et deux Appendices (liste des variantes de *WT* qui n'apparaissent dans aucun ms de *Yem*, à laquelle des chiffres renvoient dans l'apparat; relevé des erreurs de A. Sperber dans la présentation du ms Or 2375).

Voici quelques unes des conclusions de ce travail méticuleux et critique autant qu'érudit. *Yem* présente une recension moins riche textuellement que *WT*. C'est probablement un texte retravaillé sur la base de *WT*, délibérément raccourci. *T Lam* devint le texte standard au Yémen, avant de subir à nouveau l'influence de *WT*, attestée par les mss plus récents. Les leçons propres de *Yem* sont «rare and insignificant» (33). Si la tradition yéménite est souvent prise pour son unité et sa cohérence (cf. 54, 73), ce jugement devra désormais être nuancé par les inconséquences, contradictions et erreurs que l'auteur relève sans cesse dans les multiples variantes de la tradition du *T Lam*. A. van der Heide a défriché et analysé un vaste domaine plein de pièges. L'évaluation qu'il fait des mss montre qu'il ne faut pas privilégier a priori un type de ms comme l'a fait E. Levine dans ses éditions tirées du *Vat. Ebr. Urb. 1* qui est une collection hétéroclite. Si nous avons édité le *T Chroniques* de ce codex, c'est d'abord parce qu'il s'agissait d'un inédit et qu'il n'existe que trois mss de ce Targum. Ce livre contribuera à l'histoire de la vocalisation supralinéaire, sous ses deux formes (babylonienne et yéménite), en aidant à les mieux distinguer. Une table des matières détaillée permettra d'utiliser aisément les données utiles pour de futures grammaires; en attendant, elles complètent la *Grammatik* de Dalman (qui avait aussi utilisé le *Ms Or 2375*).

Nous avons ici une présentation photographique d'une certaine tradition de l'araméen, sans jugement de valeur appuyé sur une grammaire normative (la valeur permanente de celle de Dalman vient de ce qu'elle est avant tout un relevé de formes attestées). On comprendra l'avantage de ce dossier objectif (qui reporte les variantes dans les moindres détails, comme l'usage de *dagesh/rafè*) pour de futures recherches. L'auteur a non seulement montré combien l'édition de Sperber s'écarte des données manuscrites, mais il a même rectifié les citations prises de Lagarde dans les cas où ce dernier corrige le *Codex Reuchlinianus*.

L'ensemble du volume constitue bien une «édition critique». Mais le texte de *T Lam*, édité tel quel d'après un témoin et avec ses erreurs, et accompagné d'un appareil «neutre» (à part quelques ? et ! occasionnels) ne représente pas ce que l'on a coutume d'entendre par édition critique. En lisant le texte, de multiples questions se posent; pour avoir une réponse, le lecteur devra repérer le type de variante dont il s'agit et chercher dans l'ouvrage la rubrique *ad hoc*. Ainsi pour juger les variantes *bgnt'* / *kgnt'* (2,6), il faut consulter les «variantes de prépositions» (p. 101), où le signe qualifie

bgnt' de «inferior» (d'après p. 97), après avoir signifié précédemment (p. 78 ss) une omission. Cf. 1,19 (*bny* / *byny* et *mn'y* / *mny*) et pp. 105/173; 3,10 (*bbys'* / *bkybs'*) et p. 87; 4,7 (*hykl'* / *h'lb'*, «Temple» ou «lait»?) et p. 90 etc. ... Un *Index* relevant tous les endroits où tel verset est étudié aurait été le bienvenu. Il manque aussi un glossaire *complet* de *T Lam.* (les pp. 145-160 regroupant seulement les variantes non classifiées). G. Dalman (*Wörterbuch* p. IV) demandait que l'on fasse des lexiques séparés pour chaque groupe de Targums. Mais A. van der Heide fournit les matériaux pour un lexique des T. des *Megilloth* de tradition yéménite. L'absence d'un texte établi explique peut-être qu'il n'y a pas non plus de traduction de l'ensemble de *T Lam.* Celle-ci obligerait à beaucoup de choix et à les justifier. Elle présenterait donc un texte éclectique et corrigé. Mais elle aurait été utile à nombre de lecteurs, surtout pour apprécier l'importance des variantes qui affectent le sens du texte et parfois suggèrent des significations non enregistrées dans les lexiques (cf. p. 141).

Nous ajouterons quelques réflexions qui dépassent le propos avoué de l'auteur, mais qui suggèrent des prolongements intéressants que lui-même a sans doute envisagés. La comparaison, même réduite (pp. 41*-51*; 23-36 et 81-97) avec la tradition occidentale (représentée par les éd. de P. de Lagarde, de S. Landauer et, très rarement, celle de E. Levine) est suggestive. Comme la dépendance des traditions palestiniennes est évidente, il sera profitable d'étendre cette confrontation en étudiant aussi les sources et les parallèles. Dans certains cas (ainsi, pourquoi 4,17 manque-t-il, «inexplicably absent» p. 81, dans *tous* les mss de *Yem* alors que tous les témoins de *WT* ont une paraphrase?), une telle enquête pourrait livrer quelques données qu'il serait important de connaître pour avancer quelque peu dans cette *terra incognita* (ou presque) de la préhistoire des Targums des *Ketubim*. Voir aussi 1,2 (par. *T Nombres* 14,1); 3,28 (persécutions pour «l'unité du Nom de Jhwh»); 4,21.22. Le contenu permet parfois de définir les rapports entre les divers témoins, comme l'auteur l'a montré (pp. 35, 86) pour 2,20 (Zacharie, prêtre *et* prophète). Si *Yem* représente un abrégé de *WT*, certains passages pourraient être éclairés en recourant à ce dernier : cf. les cas où Onqelos résume une tradition palestinienne (comme à *Gen* 3,15.22). Autant il est légitime pour des recherches grammaticales de ne pas traiter ensemble divers groupes de textes (p. 20), autant il importe de ne pas négliger ensuite l'analyse comparative du contenu qui remet en contact avec une tradition targumique vivante (d'ailleurs étroitement liée au midrash). L'intérêt du Targum est dans les traditions qu'il véhicule, qui ne peuvent se juger et dater par les seuls critères linguistiques. La conclusion de l'auteur, à première vue décevante («The Targumim of the Megillot are late literary products which in the form in which they appear in the Yemenite manuscripts already have a history of several centuries», p. 4), marque aussi un point de départ pour un autre type d'enquête, comme celle de R. Loewe sur *T Cant.* («Apologetic Motifs in the Targum to the Song of Songs», in *Biblical Motifs*, ed. A. Altmann, vol. III, 159 ss. 1966).

Enfin quelques remarques de détail. Pour 4,22 (cf. pp. 29 et 50*), remarquer que le texte traduit reprend une correction de Lagarde (*Messiah*) et que le *and* (et) devant Élie se trouve bien dans Lagarde. Dans la liste des abrégés

viations, lire 3.4 (non 3.3). Le commentaire sur *-ē* (p. 140) et sur *-hom* (p. 172) est un peu bref. Dans l'araméen, nous avons relevé peu d'erreurs : p. 146, 'klwkyn pour 'klwsyn; p. 171, 'bbk pour dbbk; p. 41* (pour 1,2), btywbh' pour btywb'. L'usage d'indiquer plusieurs témoins/auteurs/références etc. en doublant la dernière lettre d'une abréviation latine donne des résultats curieux comme *omm.* (*omittunt*) (p. 111), *ibidd.* (p. 124), *loc. citt.* (p. 128), *edd.* (p. 184). P. 184, *s.l.e.a.* représentera une devinette pour certains. Il y a quelque inconséquence dans le traitement du 'ayin (écrit 'ayin p. 32 et ayin pp. 87, 142) : Yaari (p. 183) et Ya'ari (p. 189); Sa'adya (pp. 16, 17, 50) et Sa'adya (p. 191). Les noms des conjugaisons sont toujours transcrits *pe'al*, *pe'il*, *itpa'el* etc. P. 130 : «maf" al-forms».

En ce qui concerne la *Bibliographie* : écrire *Biblia Polyglotta Matritensia* et ajouter les 4 vol. déjà parus (*Numeri* 1977; *Leviticus*, *Exodus*, *Deuteronomium* 1980); noter la réimpression de A. Díez Macho, *El Targum*, Madrid 1979; A. Merx, *Chrestomathia Targumica quam collatis libris...* (au lieu de *Chrestomathica... libri...*) : le titre est resté sans verbe (*edidit*); p. 184 : lire *herausgegeben*; le nom de Fr. Praetorius est ainsi écrit dans son édition (non Prätorius). Enfin, le titre français du livre de C. Sirat, M. Beit-Arié est défiguré (*Manuscrits médiévaux en caractères... portants...*).

Minimes détails qui n'enlèvent rien à la valeur de cette contribution à l'histoire de la formation et de la transmission du texte du Targum et à l'étude de l'araméen si diversifié qui nous l'a transmis.

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J. HOFTIJZER (with the collaboration of H. R. VAN DER LAAN and N. P. DE KOO), *A Search for Method. A Study in the Syntactic Use of the h-locale in Classical Hebrew* (Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics, XII). IX-288 p. Leiden 1981. E. J. Brill. 88 Gld.

In at least two ways this book can be regarded as a refined sequel to Professor Hoftijzer's previously published studies on the nominal clause in Hebrew and on the particle 't ("The Nominal Clause Reconsidered", *VT* 23 [1973] 446-510; "Remarks Concerning the Use of the Particle 't in Classical Hebrew", *OTS* 14 [1965] 1-99). In the first place, the linguistic methodology adopted in this book is more coherent than in Hoftijzer's 1965 and 1973 articles; secondly, the corpus of data on which the present study draws is more easily definable than is the case with the material on which the previous studies had to be based. The exhaustive documentation used in the book under review and its solid methodological frame-work make this study an almost definitive one.

The book contains eleven chapters, which follow the "Introductory Remarks" (p. 1-18): "The Nh instances in prose" (p. 19-59); "The pNh instances in prose" (p. 60-62); "The Nh_xN (or Nh_xN^o) instances in prose" (p. 63-79); "The NxNh and pNxNh instances and related material in prose" (p. 80-94); "The N^mh instances in prose" (p. 95-98); "The (p)N^mh instances in prose" (p. 99-104); "The N^oh, N^{oh_{xo}} and N^{ox_o}h instances in prose" (p. 105-132); "The pN^oh, (p)NxN^oh, pN^{ox_o}h instances and related material in prose" (p. 133-137); "The A^{dv}h instances in prose" (p. 138-153); "The use of the ending under consideration in the non-narrative material" (p. 154-185); "Discussion of the material and conclusions" (p. 186-253).

The aim of the book is to present a survey of the function(s) of the nominal forms ending in unstressed $\bar{a}(h)$ that occur in the Biblical Hebrew texts. In view of the fact that no one today possesses a native-speaker competence in Biblical Hebrew, Hoftijzer has opted for a statistical study of the data as found in the textus receptus of the Old Testament. Within this Hoftijzer has made a distinction between the narrative and the non-narrative material. The former constitutes the empirical basis of his study; data from the non-narrative texts (poetry and prophecy) is discussed in Chapter IX, mostly with an eye to important divergences between the narrative and non-narrative material. As for the narrative texts, the author has divided the material according to the sources (JE= Jahwist-Elohist; P= Priestly Code; D= deuteronomic; L= lists; JK= Judges up to and including Kings; and the individual sources of Nehemia, Chronicles, Ruth, Esra, Esther, and of the prose parts of Jonah, Job, Jeremiah, Isaiah and Ezekiel).

For the distinction of the sources, Hoftijzer has followed O. Eissfeldt, *Hexateuch-Synopse. Die Erzählung der fünf Bücher Mose und des Buches Josua mit dem Anfange des Richterbuches in ihre vier Quellen zerlegt* (Leipzig 1922) and M. Noth, *Ueberlieferungsgeschichte des Pentateuch* (Stuttgart 1948).

Hoftijzer's descriptive method can be described as follows. The author has first made an analysis of the syntagmatic units within which the forms with the ending $-h$ occur. In a second stage, the author has considered the paradigmatic class (noun, proper name, adverb, etc.) to which the forms with this ending belong. As a result of this twofold analysis, the author has retained a number of what may be called *positional types* (D. Hymes, *Word* 11 [1955] 10-23), such as (1) Nh, i.e. a nominal form without plural or dual ending followed by the ending $-h$, which is neither a regens nor a rectum in a status-constructus group and which is not preceded by a preposition; (2) pNh, i.e. a nominal form without plural or dual ending followed by the ending $-h$, which is neither a regens nor a rectum in a status-constructus group and which is not preceded by a preposition; (3) N^mh, i.e. a nominal form with so-called masculine plural absolute ending followed by the ending $-h$, which is not a rectum in a status-constructus group and which is not preceded by a preposition; etc. An inventory of the positional types examined by Hoftijzer can be found on pp. 10-13 of his study. As can be gathered from the table of contents (see note 1), a separate chapter has been reserved for the instances of each positional type followed by the ending $-h$. For all the types Hoftijzer has calculated the absolute and relative frequencies of the

individual instances, while (1) enumerating the nouns, proper names and adverbs followed by the ending under consideration, and (2) discussing the use of these nouns, proper names and adverbs occurring without this ending in the Biblical text.

This truly stimulating book contains so much data that before submitting it to some criticism, it is necessary to summarize Hoftijzer's findings. Some of them have been formulated by Hoftijzer in an article intended for a general audience of linguists and literary scholars; see J. Hoftijzer, "Schaatsen op dun ijs. Linguïstisch onderzoek van beperkt materiaal", *Forum der Letteren* 22 (1981) 195-203.

Hoftijzer's study shows (1) that the construction involving a Nh is attested only for nouns bearing a certain semantic component (viz. inherent local fixedness); (2) that originally a Nh had either a local-terminative or a locative function (the local-final and non-local uses constituting a secondary development); (3) that different nouns had different frequencies of use with the ending *-h*; (4) that the construction "proposition + Nh" is a later, and syntactically much more restricted, phenomenon; (5) that the constructions "Nh followed by a rectum" are also later developments, attesting a spread from locative to non-locative uses; (6) that proper names followed by *-h* also possessed the semantic feature of local fixedness and that they originally were used in this construction with a local-terminative function; (7) that constructions such as "preposition + proper name + *h*" are a later, and less frequent, phenomenon; (8) that the (frequent) form *šmh* originally had a local-terminative function, and only occasionally a locative function.

Of course, these are only some general conclusions which Hoftijzer's study allows us to make; his book also constitutes an interesting inventory of the different diachronic and stylistic layers within the books of the Old Testament. It would be interesting to study the linguistic features of each source or tradition within the Biblical Hebrew text, not only with regard to their use of the morpheme *-h*, but also with regard to their use of prepositions, verbal forms, suffixes, etc. For each of these parameters, it would be necessary to study its range of meanings and the context of its uses. On this point, Hoftijzer's study is, understandably, insufficiently informative: the absence of a relatively large context forces the reader to control each reference with regard to its contextual meaning.

It is very difficult to find shortcomings in a methodologically well-pondered study, based upon careful description, such as Hoftijzer's book is. Two minor points of criticism should, however, be brought to the fore. Throughout his study, Hoftijzer uses semantic notions such as *locative*, *local-terminative*, *local-final*, and *local-separative*, which he considers to be distinct and neatly distinguishable (see p. 22 note 44 and p. 23 note 47). Of course, this implies the existence of a semantic model for the study of location or movement expressions. Such a semantic model is still a desideratum. For a stimulating study of the semantic basis of grammatical models, see W. Chafe, *Meaning and the Structure of Language* [Chicago 1970]. (For a semantical interpretation of the use of prepositions in Ugaritic, see D. G. Pardee, "The Preposition in Ugaritic, I and II", *UF* 7 [1975] 329-378 and 8 [1976] 215-322).

Furthermore his semantic distinctions seem to be based on an Indo-European tradition (of language, logic and culture); in the Semitic languages, the distinction between local-terminative and local-final is not always very clear, and certainly not in the linguistic expression. Moreover, the locative aspect is present in the local-terminative, local-final and local-separative meanings. It seems to me that the use of onomasiological concepts relating to locality and location (both with moving and immobile objects) is rather problematic, and may be compromising when used in conjunction with a rationalist perspective, which is very rarely in perfect agreement with the linguistic facts.

My second criticism also concerns a point of methodology. To calculate frequencies, Hoftijzer had to compare the attested instances with what he calls *zero-instances*, viz. instances where a form with the ending *-h* could have been used but was not. This procedure is, however, in contradiction to the author's aim of providing an analytic treatment of the use of the morpheme *-h*: by appealing to zero-instances, the author bases himself upon a reconstructed competence which should have been that of a native speaker of Biblical (Classical) Hebrew, but which after all is not in agreement with the attested competence (since the ending *-h* is not used in these cases). In the eyes of the reviewer, this procedure somehow compromises the realistic status of the frequency tables. By considering the instances where *-h* has not been used "although it could have been" as zero-instances, Hoftijzer treats these instances as free variants (allomorphs) of the instances with *-h*. This is a very dangerous procedure: as a matter of fact, the variation might equally well not have been a free one, but might have been dictated by formal, stylistic or sociolinguistic reasons. Taking a definite stand about this point necessarily involves the use of a twentieth-century competence of Classical Hebrew, which is not likely to be identical with the native speaker's competence. Although I recognize the usefulness of Hoftijzer's appeal to zero-instances, I feel that the implications it carries are in contradiction to the author's initial, purely formal and objective, purpose (see pp. 1-2).

As stated already, these minor criticisms in no way detract from my deep respect for Hoftijzer's study. It is one of the most profound and thoroughly documented studies on Biblical Hebrew syntax based on a consistent methodology that I know of. The author is both honest and cautious in explicating his observations and in formulating his conclusions. This book, which contains a rich amount of data that can be used for further studies on the *-h* locale (the very detailed index [pp. 254-288] will render excellent services here), and — with regard to methodology — on related syntactical problems, is a land-mark in the history of grammatical research on Biblical Hebrew.

On p. 91, line 11, read *regens* instead of *rectum*.

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Bruce M. METZGER, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible. An Introduction to Palaeography*. x-150 p. 45 fot. 9 gráf. 28,5 × 22. New York — Oxford 1981. Oxford University Press.

Cuando uno acaba de leer este libro, comprueba que en relativamente pocas páginas se ha compendiado de modo casi exhaustivo todo lo concerniente a la Paleografía griega: teoría y práctica. La primera parte diríamos que es un tratado minucioso, por más que manual, de la Paleografía bíblica que en su exposición implica no pocas de las cuestiones de Paleografía literaria en general. La segunda parte facilita al alumno la lectura gradual, según disposición cronológica, de los manuscritos bíblicos tanto del Nuevo como del Antiguo Testamento.

El libro va dirigido primordialmente a los estudiantes de la Biblia griega. Pero creo que puede beneficiar a cuantos se interesan por el cultivo de la Filología griega. No puede negarse que los paralelismos paleográficos entre los manuscritos bíblicos y literarios de autores paganos son frecuentes y siguen no pocas veces iguales normas de evolución.

La primera parte está dividida en seis apartados principales: noción de Paleografía, alfabeto griego, pronunciación de esta lengua, producción de los libros en la antigüedad, transcripción de manuscritos griegos y peculiaridades de los manuscritos específicamente bíblicos. Esta primera parte se cierra con tres apéndices sobre la datación de los manuscritos griegos, su colación crítica y ciertas estadísticas sobre los manuscritos del Nuevo Testamento.

La segunda contiene cuarenta y cinco reproducciones de manuscritos bíblicos — la VIII es del Diatésaron de Taciano perteneciente a la primera mitad del siglo III p. C. — que van del siglo II a.C. al XV de nuestra era. Como acertadamente advierte Metzger, los manuscritos aquí presentados son importantes por su especial interés paleográfico y además, o a veces, por su alcance en la crítica textual neotestamentaria. Aunque, en general los facsímiles son buenos y cumplen su misión ilustrativa, no diría que todos pueden merecer el calificativo de excelentes (cf., v. gr., los números 10, 18, 19 A-B, 25, 37, 38).

Mérito singular de Metzger ha sido el saber conjugar gran amplitud en el deslinde de la temática con penetración y sencillez en el desarrollo de los asuntos. Quien se considere medianamente versado en Paleografía, tiene presente las muchas incógnitas que esta ciencia ofrece al actual investigador. De ahí el tino científico del autor que, en general, ha logrado hacer de cada apartado como una cumplida síntesis de lo que la ciencia dice hoy día, aunque alguno — como, por ejemplo, el que trata de la acentuación — parece haberse detenido, por lo que a bibliografía se refiere, en épocas muy anteriores a la de las últimas aportaciones.

Muy completo es el estudio dedicado a los «nomina sacra». Realmente puede decirse que se consideran todos los aspectos y se ponen de relieve las aparentes incongruencias en el uso de dichos nombres. En esta sección ocupa un lugar significativo el trabajo de S. Brown que, como fruto de un seminario realizado en este Instituto Bíblico y publicado en *StPapyr* 9 (1970) 7-19 dio un nuevo curso a toda esta cuestión. Para que estas palabras no parezcan

exageradas, me permito recordar lo dicho por A. Blanchard, *Sigles et abréviations dans les papyrus documentaires grecs: Recherches de Paléographie* (London 1974) 18: «S. Brown a réfuté de façon rigoureuse la thèse de L. Traube» (Cf. además O. Montevecchi, *La Papirologia* [Torino 1973] 288, etc). Estoy totalmente de acuerdo con lo que Metzger dice en la n. 85, p. 37, sobre el hecho de que estos y sólo estos quince nombres deban considerarse como sagrados (Cf. J. O'Callaghan, «*Nomina sacra*» in *papyris Graecis saeculi III neotestamentariis* [AnBib 46; Romae 1970] 26-27).

Me parecen también muy acertadas las palabras de Kirsopp y Silva Lake que el autor aduce en la p. 51 para facilitar la datación de algún manuscrito o determinar si dos manuscritos proceden de la mano de un solo escriba.

Hay otros muchos puntos en esta obra que merecerían una atención particular, pero más propia de revistas específicamente filológicas. Baste, sin embargo, lo dicho para declarar la calidad de este libro, nueva prueba del empeño y acierto científico de su autor.

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Vetus Testamentum

- A. DE WILDE, *Das Buch Hiob, eingeleitet, übersetzt und erläutert* (Oudtestamentische Studiën, XXII). 418S. Leiden 1981. E. J. Brill. 128 Gld.

This new commentary on Job is not easily categorised. The author adopts unfashionably "modern" presumptions, such as the view that the book is the work of a single author (the Elihu speeches excepted), yet echoes the past in announcing a strict strophic structure discerned at the cost of conjectural line-transposition. His concern for the meaning of the book as a whole, ably presented in his introduction, fades into the background in the commentary proper where text and philology become the principal foci of interest. Both in introduction and commentary some rather elementary observations stand cheek by jowl with highly technical or penetrating remarks. The standard commentaries from Duhm to Horst are frequently enough cited but periodical literature is seldom referred to. Although these various tensions in the work confuse the reader's expectations, the weight and value of the book can be appreciated if one foreswears expectations and welcomes the diversity of comments, whether sober, independent or one-sided.

The *Introduction* to the commentary is unexceptional except for its Section V on 'Der Sinn des Buches' (pp. 32-50) which offers a rich and beauti-

fully organised survey of the forms interpretation of the book has taken from the Septuagint, through the fathers, Maimonides, and Kierkegaard, to the present day. For De Wilde, the book is a demonstration of the truth that at the deepest level humankind cannot exist on the basis of logic and reason, but only in a relationship of trust — trust in the *mysterium tremendum et fascinans* of the Wholly Other (R. Otto's language is explicitly cited). We can, however, I think, move closer to the book's intention by linking with such an "existentialist" interpretation an older interpretation — of Job as an exemplar of suffering humanity. De Wilde correctly protests (pp. 37 f.) that the exemplar has in the past been drawn wholly from the Job of prologue and epilogue; but if we read the book as a unity, as De Wilde rightly does, it is equally Job the model of piety and Job the arraigner and blasphemer of God who is declared at the end to have "spoken of me what is right" (42,7). Put in more existentialist terms, the book is not primarily a demonstration of a truth (p. 36) but a poet-sage's practical advice on how to behave in adversity: with patience and resignation so long as that is possible, but after that with candour and feeling, giving vent to anger and bitterness, even against God — or rather, especially against God, holding him to be the author of evil and addressing him in the second person language of tormented faith rather than speaking of him in the third person language of a calmly rationalistic theology.

For the remainder of this review I shall concentrate on De Wilde's treatment of Job's third speech (chs. 9-10). The *strophic* structure first attracts our attention. De Wilde has already warned us (pp. 63 ff.) that he follows the view of Duhm and Hölscher in locating wherever possible strophes of four lines; in order to do so, he proposes 40 transpositions of lines, 8 expansions, and about 30 excisions ranging from one line to several verses. He allows that longer strophes sometimes close a speech or a major portion of one (e.g. 9,23 f.: 5 lines; 10,20-22: 6 lines), that 2-lines strophes with an introductory function may sometimes be found (e.g. 9,2.29), and that elsewhere 6-line and 3-line strophes occasionally occur.

In the doxology of 9,5-10, De Wilde's division into three 4-line strophes simply contradicts the sense, since vv. 5-7 depict God's destructive acts and vv. 8-10 his creative acts. De W.'s attempt to associate v. 8 with v. 7 and detach it from v. 9 by translating the verbs of v. 8 as present and that of v. 9 as past can hardly be justified. Vv. 11-16 can more persuasively be claimed to break into three 4-line strophes, but here again two 6-line strophes, with vv. 11-13 focussing on God, vv. 14-16 on Job, seem more appropriate. Again, the unit 10,8-17 is very clearly formed of two 10-line strophes, joined at 10,13 where the mood changes and an obvious transition marker (*w'ēleh*) occurs; De W.'s insistence on a 4-line strophic pattern leads him to link v. 12 and v. 13, verses between which a sharp disjunction occurs, as most commentators agree (and as De W. himself appreciates in the structure of his comments on p. 152). In view of the absence of any formal or exegetical argument for his strophic divisions here, De W.'s conclusions on this score can be given no weight.

As for the *logic* of Job's speech, De W., along with many other commentators (Gordis, Fohrer, *et al.*), finds the primary assertion to be that might is

right with God, who governs the world with irresponsible and arbitrary omnipotence. Despite this *sensus communis*, the possibility should be entertained that Job's primary concern in this speech is his own vindication (as he states in the nodal verse, 9,2b) and that his charge against God is not of wilfulness at all, but of God's settled design of anger and hostility towards his world, and towards Job in particular, from the moment of creation (9,13) and the moment of Job's birth (10,13 in reference to vv. 8-12). A more close scrutiny of the logical and theological structure of the speeches may well show a shift in position on Job's part from speech to speech, against a background of differentiated but immobile positions on the part of the four friends.

On the *text*, one fresh conjectural emendation is made at 9,5: for MT *lō' yādā' ū* De W. reads *lō' yāga'*, "he is not tired" — which is not bad as a conjecture, though the copyist who found it "too anthropomorphic" must have had a more heightened sensitivity than the copyist of Is 40,28 or of Mal 2,17 — where God actually *is* wearied). Elsewhere the most usual emendations are followed, including *yāmay yaḥdāl* in 10,20 to *yēmē heldī*, where the Qere nevertheless gives a perfectly acceptable sense, "Are not my days few? Let me alone!" — the syntax as fractured as the thought.

In *philology*, the author shows a restraint which G. R. Driver or the lamented Fr. Dahood would have found positively reactionary. Some of the more important suggestions emanating from recent comparative Semitic philology are mentioned, but not always evaluated. On 9,27, *'e'ezbā pānay*, (?) "I will forsake my face" (RSV "I will put off my sad countenance"), Dahood's proposal of *'zb* II (Ug. *'db*) is mentioned as an option, though with the meaning "erneuern"; Dahood himself translated "I shall arrange my face", i.e. "I shall wash and anoint my face" (*JBL* 78 [1959], 304 f.). We have in fact to seek no further than Neh 3,8; 4,2 for the meaning "repair, restore" for Heb. *'zb* (whether or not cognate with Ug. *'db* "repair") — which yields the satisfactory sense "I shall restore (resume) my [normal] countenance". Quite improbable, on the other hand, is Driver's opinion (*VTS* 3 [1955], 76), given equal weight by De W., that Arab. *'db* IV, "made agreeable", is cognate; for only a very restricted range of meanings exists for *'db* IV (see Lane, p. 1981) and the verb is nowhere else attested in Hebrew.

Exegetically, the commentary is not rich, though I found in these two chapters one novelty (I think) which is attractive: 9,11 ("He passes by me and I see him not") is not an independent statement of the inapprehensibility of God, but simply anticipatory of the image of the irresistible "Snatcher" in v. 12. Less persuasive is the view that the *crux* in 9,35 *lō-kēn 'ānōkī 'immādī* means "I am not aware of any unrighteousness in myself", forming an inclusio with v. 29 (a 2-line strophe in De W.'s view); it is preferable to read "for in myself I am not fearful" (cf. JB). It was disappointing to find no recognition of the momentousness of 10,7 for the dynamic of the book: whereas in ch. 3 Job laid no claim to guiltlessness, and in chs. 6-7 he emphasised his distress more than his innocence, in this speech he not only vigorously protests his innocence (9,15.20.21) but here — for the first time — asserts that *God also* knows he is innocent. To an absent-minded or mistak-

en God Job could conceivably appeal, but from one who knows the callousness of what he is doing there is indeed "none to deliver".

Finally, a speciality of this commentary is its fascination with *realia* (reminiscent of Hölscher). In these chapters *five* pages are devoted to the star-names of 9,9, "ein kurzer Abriss der israelitischen Sternkunde". It is uncertain what purpose is served by tabulation of the dates of visibility of these stars in Jerusalem in 500 B.C. (which the author thinks to be the approximate date of the composition of Job). A Subject Index to the Translation (pp. 414-418) is an unusual feature of a commentary, though valuable in the present case, presenting at a glance references to animals, human activities, parts of the body, etc.; it portrays in impressive fashion the richness of the poet's imagery.

De Wilde's work cannot be ranked among the great commentaries on Job of Driver and Gray, Dhorme and Fohrer, but deserves a respected place as a primarily textual and philological commentary of an older stamp.

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Norbert LOHFINK, *Kohélet* (Die Neue Echter Bibel. Kommentar zum Alten Testament mit der Einheitsübersetzung). 86 S. 23,5 x 15,5. Würzburg 1980. Echter Verlag.

Comparando este comentario al Eclesiastés de la nueva serie Echter Bibel con el correspondiente de la primera serie (Nötscher, 1948), se puede apreciar el avance exegético de los últimos años. Comparado p.e. con el de Siegfried (1898), se aprecia el movimiento hacia posiciones más moderadas y matizadas. El comentario es razonablemente amplio: 80 páginas grandes, con notas a dos columnas.

La introducción (p. 5-17) es brillante y se lee con gran interés. Lohfink da mucha importancia a la situación social de la época como factor decisivo de la obra, sin negar la actuación de un autor original e influyente. Al cambiar las condiciones económicas y políticas en Judá, la vieja sabiduría no bastaba y había que tomar prestada la experiencia de los que habían realizado ya el gran cambio de situación, es decir, los griegos.

Aquí entra la hipótesis «griega» de Lohfink, frente a la babilónica de Loretz o la egipcia de Humbert. Lohfink sostiene la influencia primaria de la cultura griega en contenido y forma, y la ilustra a lo largo del comentario (lástima que no nos dé la cita precisa en cada caso). El influjo griego no anuló ni suplantó la tradición patria, que el autor conocía y manejaba con gran libertad y creatividad. Empezando por la lengua: un hebreo literario, ya no hablado, influenciado por el lenguaje vivo de la época; es decir un hebreo

no puramente académico. Qohelet se ofreció como mediador cultural. Quizá su fuerte personalidad, su capacidad de atraer discípulos o público, le valieran el mote de «congregador», que retuvo orgulloso en su escrito.

En cuanto a la canonización, Lohfink se la imagina como resultado de un compromiso: cuando las escuelas de orientación griega presentaron una competencia seria y amenazadora a la escuela oficial del templo, hizo falta un libro que incorporase lo nuevo salvando lo tradicional. Esto lo brindó el libro del Eclesiastés, apoyado por círculos influyentes.

La reconstrucción de Lohfink, lógicamente tiene que echar mano de conjeturas, sobre todo en la última sección. El autor no lo disimula y sabe calificar sus afirmaciones o sugerencias. En conjunto nos ofrece una explicación coherente, plausible y presentada con claridad e interés.

También concede Lohfink importancia al aspecto literario del libro. Pienso que la obra entera está dispuesta o compuesta en forma de «palindromía» (o estructura concéntrica, de fórmula ABCDEDCBA), mientras que el desarrollo imita el estilo de la diatriba griega. En varias ocasiones el autor bíblico cita sentencias tradicionales para comentarlas libremente.

El comentario sigue las líneas trazadas o resumidas en la introducción. Está atento a la situación económica y social (especialmente en la doble sección titulada «Crítica de la sociedad»), es solícito en citar paralelos griegos, busca la situación humana o cultural en que se pronuncia un proverbio. A la larga el comentario resulta original. Aunque el autor conoce el estado de la exégesis, no se dedica a discutir, sino a exponer. Es norma de la serie y hay que agradecerlo, porque Lohfink tiene cosas interesantes que comunicar.

La obra manifiesta una tendencia a diferenciar, tal vez excesiva, tanto en la traducción de la *Einheitsübersetzung*, como en algunos pasos del comentario.

P.e. 8,3 b dice en el original *'l t'md bdb'r r' ky kl 'šr yhpš y'sh*; en la traducción resulta «versteife dich nicht auf eine Sache, wenn sie schlimm auszugehen droht. Denn alles, wozu er sich entscheidet, setzt er auch durch». Es decir, el monosílabo hebreo *ra'* se convierte en «wenn sie schlimm auszugehen droht». El hebreo de 6,3 es *wnpšw l' tšb' mn h'wb*; en la traducción resulta «wenn er sich selbst aber seines Vermögens doch nicht bedienen kann, um sich satt zu essen». El siguiente ejemplo lo voy a disponer en líneas paralelas:

7,25 *sbty 'ny wlb'y*

So habe ich, genauer: Mein Verstand, mich umgestellt.

ld't wltwr wbqš

Ich wollte forschend und suchend erkennen,

hkmh whšbwn

was dasjenige Wissen wirklich ist, das Einzelbeobachtungen zusammenrechnet.

wld't rš' ksl

Ferner wollte ich erkennen, ob Gesetzesübertretung mit mangelnder Bildung

whsklwt hwllwt

und Unwissen mit Verblendung zusammenhängt.

Me temo que, sometido a ese tratamiento, el estilo aforístico y conciso del original se resienta.

El otro aspecto de la diferenciación va unido con el deseo de actualizar en lenguaje moderadamente filosófico el sentido original. P.e. sobre el tener que dejar a otros el fruto del propio trabajo, de 2,20 ss, se comenta: «Sie geht dann auf in jene Grenzsituation, die Karl Jaspers Gechichtlichkeit genannt hat» (p. 29); también la define «Grenzsituation 'Andere'». O en 2,18 s, que se comenta «Nach dem eigenen Tod ist die von mir geschaffene Objektivation "anderen" ausgeliefert, deren Fähigkeit, ja Freiheit sich jeder Einflussnahme meinerseits entzieht».

Termino señalando y recomendando las tres últimas páginas de la introducción (15-17), en las que el autor se plantea seriamente el problema de la validez del libro para el hombre actual y para el cristiano. Son páginas para la reflexión hermenéutica y teológica y también para la meditación.

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Novum Testamentum

Rainer RIESNER, *Jesus als Lehrer. Eine Untersuchung zum Ursprung der Evangelienüberlieferung* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, Reihe II/7) xi-614 p. Tübingen 1981. J. B. C. Mohr.

Das Buch sichtet kritisch die bisherigen Auffassungen der Entstehung der Evangelien, besonders auch die "Zweiquellentheorie" und die "formgeschichtlichen" Hypothesen. Es untersucht die damalige "jüdische" Lehrweise in Schule und Synagoge sowie entsprechendes Belegmaterial aus dem Umkreis des Neuen Testaments (auch aus dem Hellenismus). Nach so neu gewonnenen oder geprüften literatur- und geschichtswissenschaftlichen Kriterien wird ein eigener Entwurf zur Entstehung und Traditionsgeschichte evangelischer Texte der Jesusüberlieferung gewagt. Diese Arbeit unterscheidet sich durch eine breite Aufarbeitung des bisherigen Materials und eine sorgfältig begründete kritische Sicht der modernen Methoden von anderen Darstellungen der letzten Zeit. Wegen des umfangreichen und sehr verschiedenen Inhalts empfiehlt sich ein zusammenfassender Durchgang durch das Buch, bei dem die positiven und die weniger überzeugenden Ergebnisse oder Hypothesen angemerkt werden können.

Das Werk gliedert sich in 5 große Teile, die innerlich zusammenhängen und vielfach methodisch und sachlich miteinander verzahnt sind. Das 1. Kapitel (1-96) bringt die Fragestellung. Zunächst werden die bisher angewandten Hypothesen zur synoptischen Frage und zur formgeschichtlichen Untersuchung der Evangelien dargestellt. Dabei wird auf die nicht bewiesenen, vor-

ausgesetzten oder schwach begründeten Stellen in diesen Entwürfen hingewiesen. Es kommen alle wichtigen Gesamtdarstellungen (angefangen von R. Bultmann und M. Dibelius) und alle Einzeluntersuchungen vor, die für die Exegese bis zur Gegenwart wegweisend waren. Am Ende dieser Darstellung steht ein Katalog von offenen Fragen. Schon dieses Kapitel ist großer Beachtung wert. Es bietet m.E. nicht nur einen richtigen Überblick, sondern auch eine Synthese der Fragen des derzeitigen Forschungsstandes. Die Formulierungen mögen manchem Leser zu scharf vorkommen. Die vorgelegten Analysen sind aber auf solche Weise mit dem angeführten Belegmaterial verbunden, daß ihre Tragweite abgeschätzt werden kann. Der Vf. stellt fest, daß für den Traditionswillen Jesu seine Eigenschaft "als Lehrer" im Sinne der damaligen Zeit unbedingt beachtet werden müsse. Auch die Kategorie des "Sitz im Leben" (in allen Schattierungen ihrer Bedeutung) sei zu klären. In einem besonderen Abschnitt "Monographien zum Thema" (74-79) werden die Arbeiten zum Gegenstand, "Jesus als Lehrer", angeführt und im Vergleich mit dem vorausgegangenen Forschungsbericht die möglichen Kriterien und methodischen Schritte dargelegt (80-95). R. geht es nicht bloß um die "Titulaturen" des Rabbi oder Lehrers Jesus, sondern um die "technische Seite" des Lehrens und Lernens in der vorösterlichen Verkündigung Jesu. Daraus ergeben sich unmittelbar zwei Aufgaben: es wird eine genauere Kenntnis des zeitgenössischen Bildungsmilieus gefordert, sowie gefragt, wie der "persönliche Anspruch Jesu" mit der in der evangelischen Überlieferung festgehaltenen Tatsache vereinbart werden kann, daß Jesus oft als "Lehrer" verstanden und angeredet wurde. Das erste Problem wird im II. Kapitel, das zweite im III. Kapitel des Buches behandelt. Das folgende IV. Kapitel untersucht die Frage des "Sitz im Leben" kritisch anhand der Daten des historisch erreichbaren Lehrens Jesu und der in der Tradition feststellbaren "Hilfsmittel". Das V. Kapitel geht auf die Zuhörer und Tradenten ein und sucht, Art, Lebensform und Mitbeteiligung des Jüngerkreises sowie die vermutlichen Lehrweisen Jesu vom Hörerkreis aus zu beleuchten.

Damit sind m.E. wesentliche Fragepunkte und Themen einer Untersuchung dieser Art angegangen. Wie immer man weitere "historische" Bedingungen der Jesusüberlieferung sonst noch charakterisiert, sie hängen offensichtlich alle mit dem Lehrwillen und der (wenigstens impliziten) Traditionsabsicht Jesu und der ersten Anhänger zusammen. Tatsächlich finden sich alle heute geübten Methoden der historischen Untersuchung an einer entsprechenden Stelle des vorliegenden Werkes. Im einzelnen seien folgende Arbeitsschritte genannt. Für manche "Einleitung" in die Evangelientradition ist das Kapitel über die altjüdische Bildung (97-245), über Elternhaus, Synagoge und Schule zur Zeit Jesu (vor dem Hintergrund der israelitischen Tradition) eine Fundgrube an Material. Es werden die einzelnen Vollzüge des Unterrichtens und Lernens (so: Gottesdienst, Schriftrezitation, -lesung, -diskussion und -anwendung, Elementarschule, Rabbinen-, Vorrabbinenunterricht usw.) mit einem breiten Spektrum an Sekundärliteratur geprüft. Im Vergleich zu älteren Darstellungen ergibt sich ein abgewogenes Urteil über die "Protorabbinen" und die Interferenzen zu politischen und halbpolitischen Gruppierungen im Judentum vor Jesus und zur Zeit Jesu. Der Autor will nicht aus der rabbinischen Zeit einfach zurückprojizieren. Die Lehrweisen und -techniken der Zeit

Jesu lassen sich nur annäherungsweise erschließen. Wenn es wahr ist, wie neueste Untersuchungen zu ergeben scheinen, daß die Zeit des Aufwachsens und der Wirksamkeit Jesu gerade in eine kurze Periode relativer Ruhe, also weniger in eine Zeit ständiger Konspiration und Aufstände fällt, als es sozial-kritisch und politisch orientierte Auslegung gerne sähe, dann gelten die Ausführungen über das Schulwesen und die Lern- und Lehrbegierigkeit umso eher. Wichtig ist auch, daß die Synagoge in ihrem Bezug zur "hellenistischen" Tradition gezeichnet wird. Es gibt mehr Gemeinsamkeiten und Überschneidungen des "palästinischen Judentums" mit dem "Griechentum", als (spätere) Schematisierungen der Formgeschichte vorsehen. Hier werden sie im Detail gezeigt und nicht global behauptet. Die ausführliche Diskussion der Methoden rabbinischer Forschung und die möglichst weitgehende Berücksichtigung des gesamten Umkreismaterials hebt die vorliegende Untersuchung ab von früheren Vergleichen der Lehrweise Jesu mit der der (gewöhnlich später bezeugten) Midrasche und des Talmud. Es wird ein historisch glaubwürdiges Bild der Lehrmethoden "zur Zeit Jesu" gezeichnet. Gegenüber bisherigen Darstellungen der "mündlichen Tradition" im Judentum zur Zeit Jesu wird das Verhältnis zwischen dem Buch der Bibel und der mündlichen Lehr- und Überlieferungsmethode anhand von sorgfältig erhobenen Daten und nicht so sehr anhand von Vermutungen zu bestimmen versucht. In diesem Teil des Werkes spielt es tatsächlich keine entscheidende Rolle, ob das zugrundegelegte Belegmaterial wenige Jahrzehnte früher oder später datiert werden, ob die Tradition bis genau in die Tage Jesu zurückverfolgt werden kann oder nur annäherungsweise in jene Zeit gehört. Die Rückschlüsse haben im Zusammenhang eine sehr hohe Wahrscheinlichkeit.

Schwieriger wird ein Urteil über die historischen Schlußfolgerungen des Vf.s in den folgenden Kapiteln zur Auskunft von Jesuslogien über die Lehrautorität Jesu, seine historische öffentliche und esoterische Lehre. Zu den vorher aufgeführten Vergleichs- und Bezugsmustern des Lehr- und Lernbetriebes und der entsprechenden "Sprache" (als kultureller Gegebenheit) werden nun bei der Untersuchungen von Evangelientexten die im I. Kapitel dargelegten Kriterien in den exegetischen Einzelschritten angewandt. Die Besprechung der Stellen, die nicht nur auf das "früheste Christentum", sondern auf Jesus selbst und ihm ganz nahestehende Tradition zurückgehen sollen, nimmt einen breiten Raum ein. Die Abwägung der Gegebenheiten und der entgegengesetzten Meinungen geschieht naturgemäß in sehr gedrängter Form. Jeweils sind Herrenworte für den Fortgang der Untersuchung sehr wichtig. Genannt seien etwa die im Rahmen der Behandlung der Anrede "Lehrer" angeführten "Selbstbezeichnungen" in Mt 26,18 parr (Vorbereitung des letzten Mahles), Mt 10,24 f, Lk 6,40 (Lehrer-Schüler), Mt 23,8-10 (Ablehnung der Rabbi-Anrede) (254-264). Sie werden nicht aufgrund der "Quellenlage" als für diesbezügliche Auskunft ungeeignet abgetan, oder aufgrund formgeschichtlicher Prinzipien späteren Schichten zugewiesen, sondern besonders auch nach sprachlichen, formalen und stilistischen Indizien bewertet. Ähnliches gilt für in der Forschung oft als unecht bezeichnete "messianische" Stellen (298 ff). Mt 11,3-6 par (Täuferanfrage) wird zuverlässiger Überlieferung zugewiesen, ebenso die Tradition über die Aussagen Jesu, die ihn als "mehr als einen Propheten" bezeichnen und die entsprechenden Nachrichten aus dem Prozeß. Nach

langen und sorgfältigen Darlegungen über "den Messias als Lehrer" im AT und in der jüdischen Literatur (von den Ps Sal über die Test Patr bis zu Tg und rabbinischer Literatur) werden die "Worte messianischer Weisheit" (330 ff), Mt 12,42 par, 11,16-19 par, 11,25 f par, 23,37-39 par, Mt 11,28-30, aber auch die "Worte eschatologischer Geltung" (344 ff) Mt 11,27 par, Mk 8,38/Lk 9,36, Mt 7,24-27 par, Mt 24,35 parr historisch ausgewertet. Die verschlungenen Wege der verschiedenen "Christologien" (Menschensohn- usw.) als Anzeichen für ein bestimmtes Entstehungs- und Tradierungsmilieu sind nicht betreten. Immer wieder wird aus formalen, stilistischen, sprachlichen (aramäische Vorform) und inhaltlichen Gründen auf zuverlässige Überlieferung geschlossen. Noch breiteren Raum nehmen die historischen Urteile in den folgenden Abschnitten ein, etwa über Jesu "Lehrweisen" (357-371), über die Hör- und Aufmerksamkeitsaufforderungen (371-379), über die Bildlichkeit, die mnemotechnischen Praktiken und die poetische Formung der Jesusüberlieferung (394 ff). Eine Aufzählung weiterer Beispiele kann unterbleiben. Hervorzuheben ist, daß R. nur bei einem geringen Teil des gesamten von ihm bearbeiteten Logienmaterials die eigentliche Authentizität fordert, dies nämlich nur insoweit, als Jesu Lehrautorität in Frage steht. Gewöhnlich genügt ihm sonst die Möglichkeit, die behandelten Herrenworte mit charakteristischen Formen des Lebens Jesu oder des vorösterlichen Jüngerkreises zu verbinden (zitiert nach S. 426). Im ganzen wird man sagen können, daß auch dieses Buch — genau wie z. B. die "formgeschichtlichen" Entwürfe — mit Hilfe einer Reihe von Voraussetzungen und Ermessensurteilen schließt. Nach der Meinung des Rezensenten sind die "Zirkelschlüsse" jedenfalls nicht gravierender als bei den Autoren, die aufgrund herkömmlicher Prinzipien oder in einzelnen Details anderer Meinung sind. Dieses Buch gibt immer Gründe an, gewöhnlich solche, die nicht "aus dem System" des heuristisch leitenden Entwurfs folgen, sondern nachprüfbarer, faktischer Natur sind.

Im V. Kapitel sind Einzelprobleme behandelt, die für den Sitz im Leben und den möglichen Trägerkreis der evangelischen Überlieferung und ihre Entwicklung besondere Bedeutung haben. Die Ausführungen über den vorösterlichen Jüngerkreis (408 ff), seine Lebensform (414 ff) und die Bedingungen, Möglichkeiten und Wandlungen der Traditionsvorgänge enthalten aktuelle Beiträge zur Forschung, die sich mit neuesten Arbeiten auseinandersetzen. Viele Schlüsse erscheinen gut gestützt und plausibler als andere Hypothesen über "Wandercharismatiker" oder urchristliche "Propheten".

Aus dieser (nicht vollständigen) Übersicht folgt bereits, daß dieses Werk für diejenigen höchst wichtig ist, die sich mit der Entstehung der evangelischen Tradition befassen. Es gibt genügend Arbeiten zu den anstehenden Problemen, die von einseitigen und vorgefaßten Meinungen ausgehen. Dieses Buch faßt sorgfältig und gewissenhaft Fakten zusammen. Seine methodischen Vorschläge fußen auf nachprüfbaren Gründen. Eine Korrektur der bisherigen Entwürfe zur Evangelienentwicklung steht an. Diese Arbeit wird die Diskussion anregen und weiterführen.

Louis DUSSAUT, *Synopse Structurale de l'épître aux Hébreux*. Approche d'Analyse Structurale. Préface de Maurice Carrez. VIII-200 pp. 24,5 × 17 cm., 2 Synopses hors-texte (grecque et française). Paris 1981. Le Cerf.

Publication partielle d'une thèse de doctorat beaucoup plus détaillée, le volume de L. Dussaut se présente comme l'explication et la justification de la «synopse» qui l'accompagne en hors-texte. Imprimée en grec et en français, cette synopse consiste en un dépliant destiné à être entièrement déployé et qui offre alors au regard le texte complet de l'épître aux Hébreux. L'important est évidemment la façon dont y est disposé le texte biblique. On l'y trouve réparti en 7 colonnes, dont chacune est divisée en son milieu de manière à former deux sections égales. On a donc sous les yeux 14 sections, groupées verticalement en 7 groupes de 2 et horizontalement en une moitié supérieure et une moitié inférieure. La moitié supérieure juxtapose les premières sections de chaque colonne et la moitié inférieure les secondes sections. D'un bout à l'autre, le texte est disposé en stiques, dont la longueur varie de 2 à 10 mots. Dans chaque section, les stiques sont groupés en subdivisions plus ou moins nombreuses, espacées de façons diverses. A l'intérieur d'une même subdivision, des distinctions apparaissent, car certains stiques commencent en retrait.

Résultat d'un long travail, la Synopse se propose comme un instrument de lecture structurale. Elle est indispensable pour suivre le détail des explications données dans le volume. L. D. s'est livré à une étude minutieuse de toutes les relations qui existent entre toutes les unités littéraires, petites et grandes, qu'il a discernées dans l'épître. Il explique lui-même comment il a constitué plusieurs séries de fiches, séries «radicales» concernant le vocabulaire et «thématiques» concernant les éléments sémantiques, et comment il a dressé plus de 300 tableaux pour représenter graphiquement les rapports variés auxquels ont abouti ses recherches. Ensuite il fait état de ses observations pour chaque section de l'épître, chaque colonne, chaque partie. Rien n'échappe à son attention: relations verbales, même réduites à un préfixe ou à une forme grammaticale, relations d'idées, qu'il s'agisse d'analogie, d'opposition ou de complémentarité ou même d'éléments implicites, symétries de tous genres, parallèles, concentriques ou «triangulaires». On trouvera dans son ouvrage une moisson très abondante de notations de détails, qui constituent un progrès dans la connaissance de l'épître aux Hébreux. Par ailleurs, une conclusion d'ensemble ressort avec évidence: le texte de l'épître présente une cohésion interne extrêmement forte: chaque section s'y trouve en rapports multiples avec toutes les autres et les rapports se croisent et s'entrecroisent comme dans un tissu très serré.

Mais pour ce qui est de la structure de l'épître, l'étude de L.D. suscite de très sérieuses critiques. Notons d'abord que sa synopse ne mérite pas son qualificatif de «structurale», car elle ne manifeste pas une structure organique. Une succession de 7 colonnes ne constitue pas une structure littéraire digne de ce nom. Il faut se reporter au volume pour apprendre que L.D. groupe ces colonnes en 3 grandes parties (2 colonnes, 3 colonnes, 2 colonnes), mais cela n'apparaît aucunement dans la synopse, qui donne donc une idée très pauvre de la structure de l'épître.

La division de chaque colonne en deux sections égales est commode du point de vue typographique, mais reflète-t-elle réellement la structure de l'épître? Lorsqu'on examine les explications données par L.D., on s'aperçoit que sa démarche a manqué de rigueur scientifique et qu'elle est grevée d'a prioris non justifiés. L'intention première a été pragmatique: trouver, pour l'ensemble du texte, une disposition typographique qui rende visibles les correspondances symétriques. Comme base de départ, L.D. a pris le schéma structurel que j'ai établi dans mon livre «La structure littéraire de l'épître aux Hébreux», mais, observant que ce schéma ne permet pas une disposition typographique commode, il a procédé à «diverses mises au point pragmatiques» (p. 4). Du point de vue typographique, en effet, il est préférable que le texte soit divisé en sections à peu près égales, dont chacune tienne sur une seule page. Une section trop courte donne une page incomplète; une section trop longue déborde sur une autre page et bouleverse l'ordonnance de tout ce qui suit. En outre, du fait même qu'une section trop longue doit être coupée en deux tronçons, sa présentation typographique ne correspond plus aux principes de la synopse structurelle, qui exige qu'une section apparaisse clairement dans son unité. Pour se tirer d'affaire, L.D. a choisi de «rectifier» le modèle que j'avais établi, de façon à l'adapter à ces nécessités typographiques; il divise l'épître, nous l'avons dit, en «14 sections structurellement égales» (p. 156), dont chacune tient sur une page. La chose surprenante est qu'il ait fait de nécessité vertu et qu'il ait transformé en règle de structure littéraire ce qui n'est que procédé pragmatique. Il est étrange, vraiment, de prendre l'uniformité comme principe de structure! C'est bien plutôt l'inverse qui s'impose: une structure exige la différenciation des parties. De quel droit exiger qu'un auteur ait divisé son œuvre, du début à la fin, en sections égales? Qui peut lui interdire d'insister plus longuement sur un point qu'il estime important et de passer plus rapidement sur un autre. En deux cas surtout, le désir d'obtenir des sections égales conduit L.D. à maltraiter gravement la structure de l'épître: il marque une séparation entre deux sections après les premiers versets du ch. 4 (3,1-4,5 et 4,6-5,10), alors que de toute évidence, He 4,6-11 est la continuation immédiate du commentaire exhortatif du Ps 95 cité en 3,7-11 et repris en 3,15; 4,3; 4,7. L'autre cas d'amputation d'un développement est celui du ch. 11. L'éloge de la foi des ancêtres étant trop long à son goût, L.D. le coupe après le v. 31, — qui n'a rien d'une conclusion, — et considère les versets 32-40 comme le début d'une nouvelle section qui se continue jusqu'à 12,13. Aucun commentateur — et pour cause — n'a jamais eu l'idée de pareille division, qui va contre l'ensemble des données littéraires. Toujours conduit par son principe d'égalité des sections, L.D. divise en deux sections distinctes le développement central de l'épître (8,1-9,28), bien que la phrase initiale (8,1-2) introduise nettement tout cet ensemble et spécialement le paragraphe qui concerne le Christ (9,11-28). Mais, pris dans toute son ampleur, ce développement dépasse les normes que L.D. impose au texte; il est donc coupé en deux. En constatant ce genre de traitement, on se prend à penser que le même postulat porterait à considérer les tours de Notre-Dame de Paris comme un défaut d'architecture, parce qu'elles dépassent le niveau de la nef! Il faut ajouter que toutes ces décisions arbitraires ne suffisent même pas à conformer le texte de l'épître au postulat adopté: les sections ne sont pas réellement égales; leur longueur varie du simple au double (de 246 mots à 496; cf. p. 157). Que vaut alors le postulat?

Un autre postulat arbitraire est celui de la division de chaque section en trois segments (p. 9). Ici aussi, L.D. impose à la structure de l'épître une règle d'uniformité absolue que rien ne justifie et il se livre plus d'une fois à des manœuvres acrobatiques pour maintenir cette «trichotomie». La section qui s'étend de 10,1 à 10,18, par exemple, présente une division médiane après le v. 10. L.D. n'en tient aucun compte et met ensemble les vv. 4-14 de façon à donner au texte une apparence «trichotomique». Dans la section suivante (10,19-39), il unit de même deux subdivisions (10,32-35 et 10,36-39) pour obtenir une division ternaire.

En ces exemples et en beaucoup d'autres, on saisit le défaut principal de la méthode, qui consiste dans la recherche unilatérale de certaines correspondances symétriques. L.D. les recherche partout à tous les niveaux possibles et il base sur elles toutes ses conclusions. Les autres indices littéraires le laissent indifférent. Cette façon de procéder est des plus critiquables. Du fait même que L.D. prend en considération tous les genres possibles de correspondances textuelles, il pourra toujours trouver «un minimum marqué de correspondances» (p. 149) entre deux unités littéraires qu'il estime symétriques. Comment le suivre lorsqu'il voit une correspondance entre la mention de «femmes», qui «retrouvèrent leurs morts par résurrection» (11,15), et celle du «mariage», qui doit être «honoré de tous» (13,4)? ou lorsqu'il rappelle, à propos de Raab, qu'elle *cacha* les explorateurs et qu'en remontant à cette tradition biblique (non mentionnée dans l'épître!) on peut établir un rapport entre He 11,31 et la phrase de 13,2 sur ceux qui, à *leur insu*, accueillirent des anges?

Pour discerner avec sûreté une structure littéraire, il est indispensable de ne pas se contenter d'un seul genre d'indices, mais de rechercher plusieurs séries différentes, susceptibles de se contrôler réciproquement. Dans l'épître aux Hébreux, la série la plus importante est celle des annonces du sujet (He 1,4; 2,17-18; 5,9-10; 10,36-39; 12,13), car c'est celle-là qui révèle explicitement l'organisation de l'épître en cinq parties successives, comprenant respectivement une, deux ou trois sections. L.D. se montre parfaitement indifférent à cette série d'indices (ainsi qu'à tout ce qui la confirme dans le reste du texte) et, sans prendre la peine d'une discussion, il opte pour une division de l'épître en trois parties plutôt qu'en cinq. Son option se fonde uniquement sur l'observation de correspondances symétriques à l'intérieur de chacune de ses trois parties: base nettement insuffisante, car rien n'empêche ces correspondances d'exister entre des sections appartenant à deux parties différentes. Sur ce point comme sur d'autre, la méthode utilisée manque de rigueur scientifique, et on ne peut donc se fier aux conclusions auxquelles elle aboutit.

L'immense travail effectué n'est pas pour autant peine perdue. Pour l'organisation du détail du texte et pour les relations entre les diverses unités, L.D. apporte de nombreuses observations qui méritent d'être prises en considération.

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NUNTII PERSONARUM ET RERUM

Programma di aggiornamento biblico

Dopo aver organizzato un programma di aggiornamento per i Licenziati e Dottori in S. Scrittura di lingua inglese, francese e spagnola, il Pontificio Istituto Biblico si rivolge, con analoga proposta, agli ex-alunni di lingua italiana e a quanti, in possesso di titoli accademici, siano in grado di seguire i corsi con profitto.

Il programma è articolato in due parti: la I^a a Roma, durante il 1° semestre dell'anno accademico 1983-84; la II^a a Gerusalemme, nel 2° semestre dello stesso anno accademico. È possibile iscriversi al programma completo, oppure ad una sola delle due parti.

I^a parte: Roma (15 ottobre 1983 — 30 gennaio 1984)

I Professori M. GILBERT e J.-N. ALETTI dirigeranno un Seminario interdisciplinare sul tema: «*La figura della Sapienza e la Cristologia*». Contemporaneamente sarà offerta una serie di conferenze, seguite da dibattito, con relatori dell'Istituto e di altri Atenei Romani. Gli iscritti avranno libero accesso alla Biblioteca dell'Istituto, e potranno seguire altri corsi e Seminari che il P.I.B. offre nel normale *curriculum ad Licentiam*.

L'iscrizione a questa parte del programma è di Lire 300.000.

I partecipanti dovranno provvedere personalmente all'alloggio.

II^a parte: Gerusalemme (25 febbraio — 30 maggio 1984)

Per questa parte, data l'incertezza sul numero dei partecipanti, non è stato ancora deciso un programma preciso. Oltre ad un Seminario, potranno essere organizzate delle visite archeologiche, conferenze e riunioni di studio. Si potrà utilizzare la Biblioteca dell'Istituto, e stabilire contatti con le istituzioni accademiche di Gerusalemme.

L'iscrizione a questa parte del programma è di Lire 300.000. Non sono comprese le eventuali spese per visite archeologiche.

Sarà possibile alloggiare presso l'Istituto Biblico di Gerusalemme. La retta giornaliera si aggirerà sui 18 dollari USA.

Chi è interessato a questa iniziativa è pregato di far pervenire la sua adesione entro il mese di *maggio 1983*, indirizzando la corrispondenza a: UFFICIO PUBBLICHE RELAZIONI, Pontificio Istituto Biblico, Via della Pilotta 25, 00187 ROMA. L'Ufficio sarà lieto di rispondere anche a richieste di ulteriori informazioni.

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Tutti i libri o i fascicoli che vengono inviati alla Direzione appaiono in questo elenco. Il fatto che vi figurino non implica alcun giudizio su di essi. Recensioni più ampie dei libri verranno fatte secondo il parere del Redattore.

I libri inviati alla Direzione che non sono stati chiesti direttamente per recensione, non si restituiscono in nessun caso, anche se non potranno essere recensiti. Tutti i libri insieme con gli estratti di articoli inviati alla Direzione vengono trasmessi all'Editore dell'*Elenchus bibliographicus biblicus* e vi appariranno secondo il giudizio dell'Editore.

I libri vanno inviati alla «Direzione di *Biblica*, Pontificio Istituto Biblico, Via della Pilotta 25, 00187 Roma (Italia)».

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